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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

WILLIAM D. KELLEY

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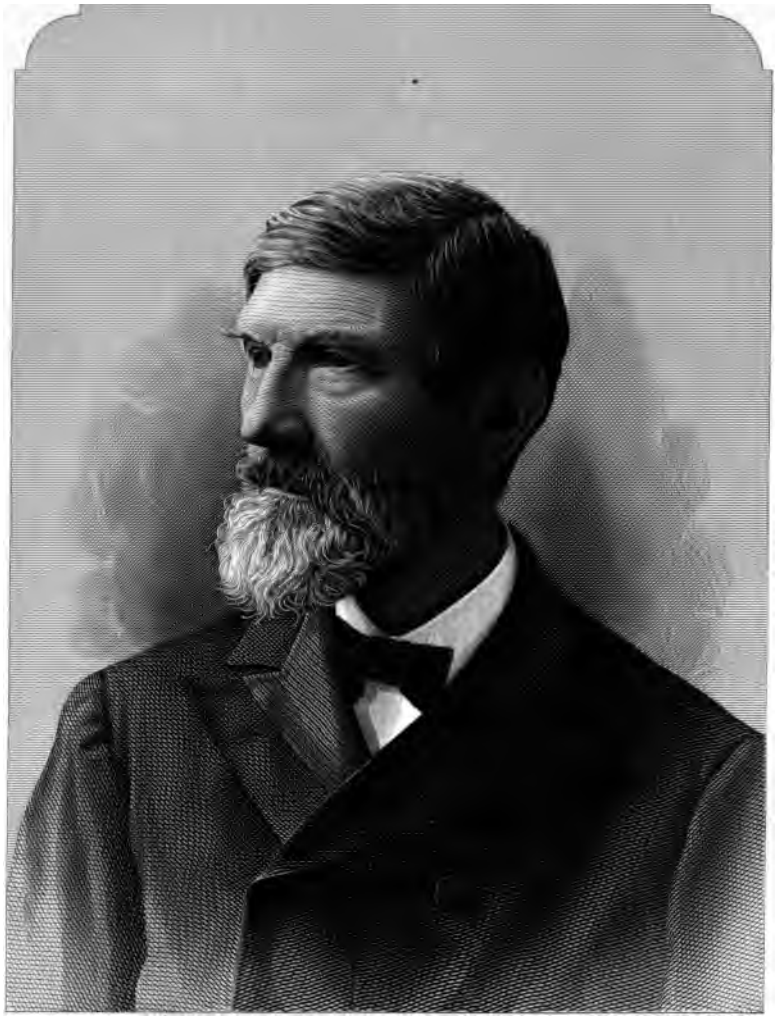
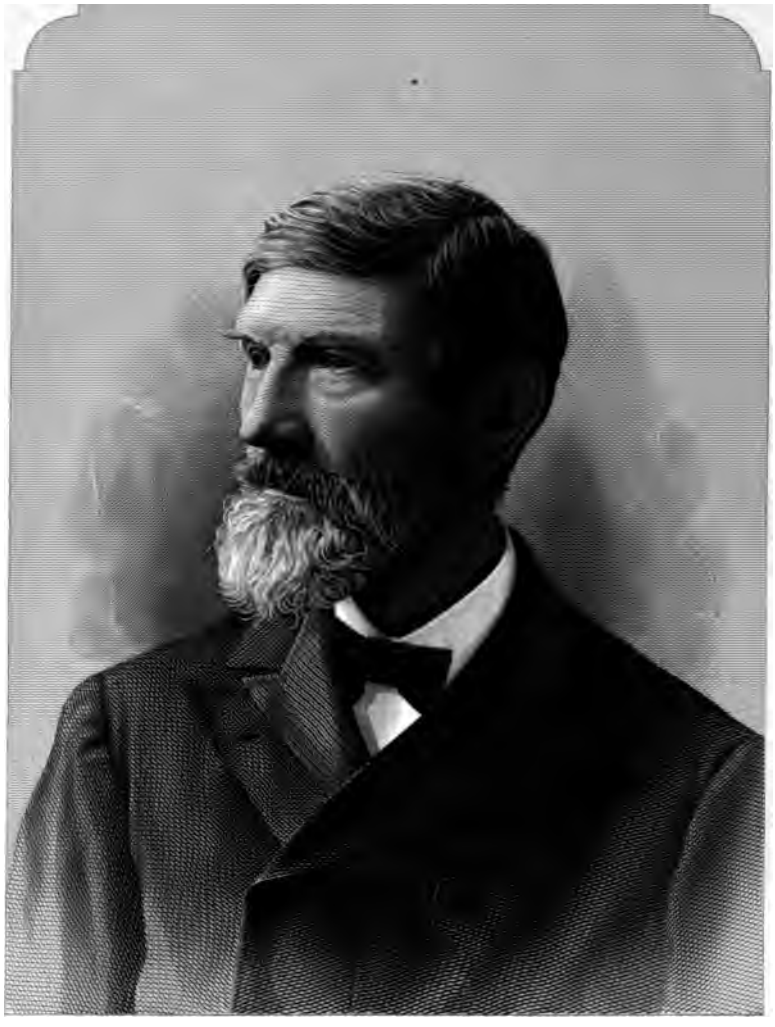


Yours very truly
Wm D Kelley



Yours very truly
Wm D Kelley

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

WILLIAM D. KELLEY

(A REPRESENTATIVE FROM PENNSYLVANIA),

DELIVERED IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND IN THE SENATE,

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1890.

JOINT RESOLUTION TO PRINT THE EULOGIES UPON WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be printed of the eulogies delivered in Congress upon the late William D. Kelley, a Representative in the Fifty-first Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, twenty-five thousand copies, of which six thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate and nineteen thousand copies shall be for the use of the House of Representatives; and the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to have printed a portrait of the said William D. Kelley to accompany said eulogies, and for the purpose of engraving and printing said portrait the sum of one thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. That of the quota to the House of Representatives the Public Printer shall set apart fifty copies, which he shall have bound in full morocco, with gilt edges, the same to be delivered when completed to the family of the deceased.

Approved, June 5, 1890.

ANNOUNCEMENT

OF THE

DEATH OF WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

JANUARY 10, 1890.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to announce to the members of the House the death of my dear colleague, Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, which occurred at 20 minutes after 6 last evening, at the Riggs House, in this city, surrounded by his family, and in the midst of his labors.

I need not say, Mr. Speaker, that this is the saddest duty which has ever devolved upon me since I became a member of this House. The death of Judge KELLEY, who had been elected fifteen times as a member from one of the Philadelphia districts, his first election occurring in October, 1860, and the fifteenth and last in November, 1888, takes from me the longest acquaintance of my public service—an intimate, friendly acquaintance, never marred for one moment of time. I can not to-day express my feelings and my thoughts on the decease of this distinguished man, known not only throughout this country, but, in my opinion, perhaps almost better known throughout the world than any other man in American public life to-day, for his great service to his country, for his

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great mind, for his working capacity, and for all that appertains to a useful Representative for nearly thirty years in the House of Representatives of the United States.

I will take occasion, Mr. Speaker, to ask the House in the near future to designate a day when members may express their feelings in memory of our deceased member. At this time I beg leave to offer the following resolutions:

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved (in recognition of the long and distinguished term of service rendered in this body by Mr. KELLEY, a term the longest in its history and which had made him for many years the "father of the House"), That appropriate services be held in the Hall of the House to-morrow, the 11th instant, at 12 o'clock m.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House, with such members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral at Philadelphia, Pa.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I ask leave, Mr. Speaker, to offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. Before the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania is read, the Chair will announce the following committee under the resolutions just adopted: Mr. O'Neill of Pennsylvania, Mr. McKinley of Ohio, Mr. Cannon of Illinois, Mr. Banks of Massachusetts, Mr. McKenna of California, Mr. Carlisle of Kentucky, Mr. Mills of Texas, Mr. Holman of Indiana, and Mr. Mutchler of Pennsylvania.

The Clerk will now read the resolution submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was unanimously adopted; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

SATURDAY, *January* 11, 1890.

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

FUNERAL OF HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

At 8 minutes past 12 o'clock (the Senate having previously entered the Chamber and taken the seats reserved for them, the Vice-President occupying a chair on the right of the Speaker), the casket containing the remains of Mr. KELLEY was brought into the Hall, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House; Revs. Dr. Cuthbert, of Washington, and Dr. Butler, Chaplain of the Senate; and the committee of arrangements, composed of Representatives and Senators. The family of the deceased took seats inside the area opposite the Speaker's chair.

Rev. Dr. Butler read appropriate Scripture selections as the casket was borne to the Hall of the House.

Rev. Dr. Cuthbert, acting as Chaplain of the House, read the ninetieth psalm, and then offered the following prayer:

O Thou, Who art our dwelling-place in all generations, the One in Whom we live and move and have our being, our strength and our refuge and ever present help in trouble,

draw nigh unto us, our Heavenly Father, we pray Thee, at this time. Dependent upon Thee at all times, we especially feel our helplessness and dependence in the face of a bereavement like this.

We devoutly recognize Thy hand in the removal of Thy servant, so long a useful and honored member of this body; a man respected by all, loved by so many, the object of so much tender friendship and affection.

O, Thou giver of every good and perfect gift, we thank Thee for this gift to his family, to his friends, to his associates, and to his country. And now that Thou hast seen fit to take him away from us, help us all to feel and to say, Thy will, O Lord, be done.

We gratefully recognize, O Lord, at this time the spirit of Christian charity which, in the face of such a calamity as this, puts aside all sectional prejudice, all party feelings, all political antagonisms, so that we come together as brothers united in the bonds of a common sympathy, liable to common sorrows and trials, and going to the same conflict with the last enemy, which is Death.

We devoutly thank Thee, O Lord, for that great hope which is laid before us in Him who has brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel, so that, although we pass through the valley of the shadow of death, we may fear no evil. The shadow tells us of the light beyond, the night of the coming day, and the temporary eclipse of the shining of the glorious Sun of Righteousness with healing upon His wings.

We commend to Thee, O Lord, this bereaved and afflicted family. O Thou who art the God of the widow and the Father of the fatherless, shield them with Thy presence and Thy love. Go with them, dear Father, in this journey to their darkened home. Be with them in the journey of life

to the end. Guide us all with Thy counsel, and afterwards receive us to Thyself. We humbly beg of Thee in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Rev. Dr. Butler, Chaplain of the Senate, then read selections from the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and offered the following prayer:

O, God; we come to Thee amid the mysteries of life and of death. We thank Thee for light from Thy throne as we go through this pilgrimage. We can not understand Thee, O God. Fearfully and wonderfully hast Thou made us. We rejoice to believe that the unseen Hand guides us, and that Thy almighty arm is round about us to shield and protect. We rejoice that we have a Father in heaven whose eye is continually upon us, and to whom we may come for guidance and comfort and strength and pardon and peace in every time of need.

We confess our sins. Thou knowest them better, O Lord, than we can tell Thee.

Our prayer is, God be merciful to us sinners!

We are but men, full of frailty, compassed about with infirmity, often overwhelmed with perplexity. We draw nigh to Thee, as our pitying Father. We pray that Thy fear may ever be before our eyes, that Thy love may be ever in our hearts, and that now, as we gather at this open casket in which lie the remains of a brother beloved, we may learn lessons of heavenly wisdom. Teach us so to number our days that we may walk continually in Thy fear and love. Restrain us from all evil; quicken us in all good; strengthen us in every time of weakness; succor us in every day of temptation. Be to us a very present help in every time of trouble. O God, as we turn from this open casket and new-made grave to life's responsible, trying, and perplexing

duties, we would quit ourselves as men, being strong. We rejoice that while we mourn, yet we mourn not as those who have no hope, for we know that if Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

Comfort this bereaved widow and these fatherless children. Thou Judge of the widow and Father of the fatherless, we commend them to Thy loving care. Fill them with Thy spirit; give unto them an abiding faith in Thee; direct Thou their paths; incline and enable them so to walk in the ways of righteousness that when they come to the end of life's pilgrimage they may be gathered into the Father's house.

And bless, we pray Thee, Thy servants, the associates of our departed brother, in their official relation. O, that they may ever walk in the fear of God; that wisdom from on high may animate them in every right endeavor; and so direct, our Father, the legislation of this land that the interests of truth may be promoted, that the welfare of the people may be advanced, and that this land of ours, so highly exalted among the nations—so richly blest of Heaven—may continue to grow in knowledge and in power and in righteousness, leading the nations toward that coming Kingdom which shall never be moved. God forbid that amid the wreck of the nations of the past we shall ever be numbered. Preserve to us, we pray Thee, our freedom, and so fill us with light from on high, with the love of God and love to our neighbor, that we may abide in ever-growing strength our lives having passed, yet our Government remain when He comes whose right it is to reign among the nations of men.

And now, Lord, teach us by this providence; bless to us this dispensation. Help us, O Lord, so to live from day to day in the consciousness of Thy nearness, guiding, sustaining, helping, and comforting, giving unto us thy peace, the

peace of God that passeth all understanding, ever to keep our hearts and minds. Grant that when we shall come to the end of the toil and the care, of sorrow and joy, we may fall asleep in Jesus. Grant this with forgiveness and grace; not because we are worthy, but for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord, who hath taught us, when we pray, to say:

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done upon earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen.

Benediction was then pronounced by Rev. J. H. Cuthbert:

And now may the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God our Heavenly Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit abide with us all evermore. Amen.

The remains were then borne from the Hall. At 12 o'clock and 35 minutes the Senate retired, and the House resumed its session.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as an additional mark of respect, I move you, sir, that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 36 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

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PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The SPEAKER. The hour having arrived for executing the special order of the House, the Clerk will read the order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Saturday, March 15, at 2 o'clock, afternoon, be fixed for paying tribute to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a member of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress from the State of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF MR. O'NEILL, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: Biography of eminent men who have achieved distinction in life is a great teacher, and holds out to youth struggling against adverse circumstances a hope of ultimate success.

WILLIAM DARRAH KELLEY, born April 12, 1814, in the city of Philadelphia, died at 20 minutes after 6 o'clock of the evening of January 9, 1890, at the Riggs House, in the city of Washington, D. C., having reached almost seventy-six years of age. From his early youth until his death, while

a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, is another illustration in his successful career of what can be accomplished by devotion to study stimulated by a proper ambition.

Young KELLEY, thrown upon his own resources in his boyhood, was at school until nearly his twelfth year, and was fortunate in receiving a good English education. This was the basis of his fondness for study. He began then to earn his own living by going into a store as errand boy and by reading proof in a printing-office. His father, who died when he was but two years of age, was a widely known and successful jeweler, but the shrinkage in all business pursuits following the war of 1812 brought to him financial disaster. The son, feeling the necessity of adopting some permanent occupation, concluded to learn the business his father had followed, and by thirteen years of age had apprenticed himself for seven years to a firm of jewelers. Having completed his apprenticeship, he went in a little while to the city of Boston, and worked there several years as a journeyman.

Returning to Philadelphia in his early manhood he commenced the study of law, and at twenty-seven years of age was admitted to the bar. With a matured intellect and with close habits of study he soon became prominent as a lawyer, and, attracting by his rapid progress in his profession the attention of the governor of the Commonwealth, he was appointed prosecuting attorney of the city and county of Philadelphia, and held that office a second time. In 1846, at thirty-two years of age, he was commissioned by appointment a judge of the court of common pleas. In 1851, the judiciary of Pennsylvania having become elective, he was chosen by the people to the same court for a term of ten years, remaining a judge about half his elective term, he having served in that capacity about ten years in all.

He was nominated in 1856 for the House of Representatives, and then resigned his judgeship. His resignation enabled him to take part with propriety in the interesting canvass of that year, presenting to the people with great power and eloquence the principles of Republicanism upon which he sought to be elected, and urging with force and vigor the election of General John C. Frémont. The campaign ended in the defeat of the judge for Congress, and also the distinguished candidate for the Presidency.

He had won distinction upon the bench, and, coming to the bar again, his knowledge of the law and his impressiveness of speech brought to him at once a large clientage, both as counselor and advocate.

Taking hours from his professional work, he was prominent in the lecture field upon many of the subjects, irrespective of politics, of that day which called to the rostrum many cultured men. An errand boy, a printer's proof-reader, a jeweler's apprentice, a workman at his trade, a lawyer, a prosecutor of the pleas, a judge, and a lecturer—he never failed of success for he never ceased to devote himself to study. His temperament was such that he must work; his unwearying eagerness for learning and his determination to succeed elevated him in the estimation of the people and made his wonderful career in public life a historical certainty.

My acquaintance with my late colleague commenced when he was filling the position of prosecuting attorney. As a student at law I was frequently a listener in the courts and in the quarter sessions and oyer and terminer, which gave me opportunities of hearing him in the trials of criminals of all grades. I was impressed with his consummate skill in the examination of witnesses, his logical analysis of evidence, and his persuasive power of presenting cases to juries.

As I look back upon these earlier years of his professional life, the Philadelphia bar full of great lawyers, I can say that he was noted among them as already a distinguished leader.

Great questions were now agitating the public mind, and Judge KELLEY naturally entered into their discussion. In the division of parties he had been a Democrat, but he differed with that party upon the issue of slavery and its extension. In his lectures before large assemblies he advocated freedom to all, and upon the stump as a candidate made himself most conspicuous as an orator and contributed in a great degree to the future success of the Republican party.

Elected to the House of Representatives in 1860 as a Republican, he was sworn in as a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress at the session called by President Lincoln July 4, 1861. He came to the performance of his duties fully equipped, for he had studied the principles of republican government. As a man of the people, he understood what was due to humanity. With a mind stored with knowledge acquired by study of the writings of the fathers of the Republic, he soon took rank with the great statesmen who welcomed him to a seat beside them in that eventful called session. Among them, as senior colleagues from Pennsylvania, were Thaddeus Stevens, Galusha A. Grow, James K. Moorhead, and Edward McPherson, all widely known throughout the country.

From other States were seated there Justin S. Morrill, William S. Holman, Henry L. Dawes, John A. Logan, Schuyler Colfax, Daniel W. Voorhees, William Windom, Robert Mallory, John A. Bingham, Samuel S. Cox, Elihu B. Washburne, Clement L. Vallandigham, William A. Wheeler, Francis P. Blair, jr., Roscoe Conkling, George H. Pendleton, James F. Wilson, Elijah Ward, who, with many others of distinction, composed that House of Representa-

tives of the Thirty-seventh Congress. With its roll of only 181 members who took the oath of office, I believe it has never been surpassed, if ever equaled, in the number of men who already had impressed themselves upon the country for statesmanship or who subsequently, so many of them, rose to higher eminence in different branches of Government service.

Judge KELLEY, for the first time in a representative position and finding himself surrounded by so many great men, but depending, as was his wont, upon his own ability, at once came almost to the forefront, and sustained himself well in that early day of his Congressional service. Soon he was acknowledged as fit to take a prominent part in the deliberations and debates of that stormy period. The great leader of Republicanism in the House of Representatives then was Thaddeus Stevens, who was, in my judgment, the greatest leader ever in Congressional life. In statesmanship, without detracting in the least from the reputation of others with whom it has been my good fortune to serve these many years in the House, I place him before them all. Now, in conscientiously considering where should stand upon the roll of leading members of Congress the name of my long-time colleague, Judge KELLEY, I must inscribe it next to the great American commoner, Thaddeus Stevens.

This high position I give him I believe is due to him, for never in my Congressional acquaintance has any one excelled him in persistent acquisition of knowledge and in toiling without cessation through years as a Representative for the advancement of his country's interests. He never failed at any time earnestly to advance by legislation the improvement in circumstances of his own immediate constituents while never neglecting the people at large. So able in argument for the abolition of slavery, so patriotic in his teachings

for the preservation of the Union, so convincing in speech for the system of protection to American industry that eulogy is exhausted. The Congressional Globe and the Congressional Record in their pages contain an imperishable history of WILLIAM D. KELLEY as a Representative in Congress. He never spoke but to enlighten his hearers and the country. His eloquence upon this floor at times turned expected defeat into victory; and his voice raised to accomplish something for the poor and distressed, seeking individual legislation, rarely was in vain.

Judge KELLEY had the confidence of President Lincoln and his Cabinet. He was frequently called upon by them during the four years of the rebellion for suggestions, and his broad views and his convictions of right many a time were concurred in by those distinguished men. His faculty of research, his extensive reading, his gift of a never-failing memory, his personal visitations to almost every part of our country in search of information, his journeyings in Europe, his contact with the great men here and in many foreign lands taught him as few men have been taught. He gathered facts from every source and brought them into use with great effect upon all subjects upon which he wrote or spoke. This devotion to the acquisition of knowledge made him a statesman. Such, in my estimation, must be the manner of life of any one who wishes to accomplish statesmanship.

Upon the subject of protection, in my opinion, his acquaintance with its details was far beyond that of any of his associates in Congressional life, and was not surpassed, in my opinion not equaled, even by those from whom he first learned the principles of the system. Indeed, the tariff was his hobby above and beyond every other subject to which he turned his attention. What we owe to those who have hobbies! Knowledge would progress slowly were it not for the devotion of

earnest men to the study of some one great subject and the promulgation of their researches to the world.

Notwithstanding the constant hourly and daily occupation of Judge KELLEY in the duties of his Representative life, he was prompted to take from his busy moments sufficient time to write and edit works upon the topics which engrossed his mind. Thus he gave to the public the stores of information his industry had accumulated, especially so upon the question of protection. To read his publications is to learn the soundness of a system which has given prosperity to our country and made us the chosen of the earth.

Did we ever realize that years were passing on in the life of our distinguished friend? Did we look upon him as one who was showing the advance of age and decreasing in physical strength or mental vigor? That graceful form, that lightness of step which all of us so often noticed as he crossed this floor, that bright and unclouded mind kept out of our thoughts even the idea that he had passed far beyond three-score years and ten. Not until a few months before his death could I, his intimate friend, I who saw him and conversed with him almost every day during the sessions of the Congresses in which we have served, observe any such decided change in his health as to give me undue alarm.

As late as the 13th day of last September, when he and I, in New York, as members of the funeral committee, followed to the grave our dear friend, Samuel S. Cox, his hope of active service in the Fifty-first Congress had not entirely departed. I saw him several times afterwards in Philadelphia; but still later, in an interview with him at the house of his daughter, only a few days before he started for Washington to take his seat in the House, did I feel that he had lost strength, seemed discouraged, and that watchful care alone would enable him to undergo the never-ending anxi-

eties which the session would bring upon him. Such a change in him between early in September and late in November last I could scarcely realize.

It was not until after the organization of the House that increasing physical weakness led him to decline serving upon the Committee of Ways and Means, of which he had once been chairman and had served so many years as one of its members. His friends noticed his depression of spirits, and, he having lost that natural buoyancy and liveliness which had ever made him a cheerful companion, their hearts began to fail them and they feared that he might not be long among them. A man whose patriotic ambition had given him years of honor was evidently lingering out but a few remaining days of life.

I never knew Judge KELLEY to be ambitious but for an acknowledgment of service advantageous to the people. His aspirations never led him to wish for or to seek the Speakership of the House. He, at times, when approached by his immediate Republican colleagues to permit them to present his name to the general caucus as Pennsylvania's choice for that high position, ever declined. Likewise he never expressed a wish to be transferred to the Senate. His idea of Congressional service was upon the floor of the House, always asserting that continued elections by the people of his district covered the fullness of his ambition. So he had his wish. He alone, of all men living or dead, received fifteen consecutive elections to the House of Representatives.

Judge KELLEY not only in speech was true to the preservation of the Union, but in practical service. In the emergency call of September, 1862, he enlisted in an artillery company and with it marched to the front, when Pennsylvania was invaded, and served until its muster out. In a

short campaign he endured the fatigues of the march and of the camp. He shared with other privates of the company the privations and dangers of a soldier's life and held as a precious relic an honorable discharge. The exposure of those days and nights, in my opinion, laid the foundation of his fearful bronchial affection, which ended only with his life. He combated this disease with nerve, and never, with all the varied sufferings from it, did he yield in his determination to stand up to his work, his unconquerable will power keeping him many a time in the performance of duty while most others would have given up in despair.

His life was full of most interesting personal incidents. He was a positive man and he always uttered his opinions and sentiments. There were times and occasions when speech was dangerous in many parts of our country, but in the fulfillment of duty to principle he went wherever called upon to speak for the cause of the Union. His fearlessness disarmed his enemies, and under the greatest excitements he was given hearings, for his perseverance in the right commanded the respect of those from whom he differed.

How many a time I have heard him in a conversational way recount his experiences, and so gifted was he in interesting statement that he never tired his ever-ready listeners. He was truly a complete social companion, and he enjoyed life in a superlative degree. He was of a quick temperament, which I ascribe to his long suffering, but no one ever reacted in manner sooner, and if an imagined hurting of the feelings of any one was told him he never failed to seek out the person injured and to evince the greatest kindness and readiness to hear and oblige if possible.

But, Mr. Speaker, the ending of his life was approaching. To a friend it was slow of belief, but it was sure to come. How could I, after twenty-five years of the closest compan-

ionship here, become satisfied that before long my associations with Judge KELLEY, my friend and my colleague, were to cease? At last I learned from his own lips the progress of his disease. Even by his friends he disliked to be asked about his health, so sensitive had he become. He knew that, however solicitous and anxious they were, his days on earth were not many, and in his love for them he wanted to keep from them, as much as he could, his helpless condition.

Sitting by him at the dinner table at the Riggs House but a few days before the Christmas vacation, in a conversation I had with him about the recess, he knowing I would spend it in Philadelphia, said that he would not, as he thought he would have more rest in Washington, and that his wife was coming to him. In a moment of extreme depression, and to my great surprise, he said to me: "How difficult I am finding it to talk much; but, my dear, long-time friend, I want to tell you that I am a dead man; yes, to tell you, but please do not repeat it to others. Oh," said he, "if my life can only be spared until after the holidays, how thankful to my God I will be. I so much desire that the shadow of death may not be upon the households of my dear children and grandchildren to mar their Christmas enjoyments and to darken in my family the brightness of that festive time."

Dear colleague, your life was prolonged beyond that gay season. The wife who was with you, the children and grandchildren who were at their homes, had not to mourn your death until a later day.

To me the shock of this, as it were, confidential communication was terrible. The composure with which he spoke these words, "I am a dead man," unnerved me, and I can never forget them. Soon he took to the bed from which he was not to arise again. A devoted wife, sorrowing sons and daughters, cared for and nursed him until the last moment

he was permitted to live. He suffered greatly at times during these dying days, but there was no murmuring. He knew that his end was coming, but he realized that there was One to whom he could look for ease and comfort in the passing hours of his trials on earth, and calling time and again upon the Lord Jesus Christ, his Divine Lord and Saviour, and repeating over and over, by day and by night, the Lord's prayer, taught him by his Christian mother, he breathed away his life in calmness and composure.

ADDRESS OF MR. HOLMAN, OF INDIANA.

Mr. SPEAKER: When on the 4th day of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States of America and the Thirty-sixth Congress expired, there was a great multitude of people at this Capitol; there was some display of enthusiasm such as is incident to a great event, but there was a subdued feeling in the minds of all men that the issue which the founders of the Republic could only postpone, which statesmanship for three-quarters of a century could only hold in abeyance, must be decided by an appeal to arms; that the hour of revolution was at hand. Multitudes visited the tomb of Washington as if to revive their love for the Union at the shrine of the immortal patriot. With anxiety and foreboding men sought to conjecture what, from the gathering storm of human passions, Providence would bring forth.

On the 4th day of July, 1861, a day that will be consecrated to human liberty as long as the race shall endure, by the proclamation of the President of the United States, Congress assembled in extraordinary session at the Capitol. It was a

memorable meeting of Congress. The Republic, resting so long in safety in the security of peace, was already in the throes of war; the clash of arms could almost be heard from the portals of this Capitol. The seats in this Hall wont to be occupied by the Representatives of ten States of the Union were vacant. No great crowds of people filled the corridors or galleries. The insignia of war were upon every hand. Union soldiers were encamped in this capital.

Anxiety and a sense of high responsibility pervaded both halls of Congress. Yet there was from the beginning a living confidence, both in House and Senate, that the Union of the States would survive the shock and come forth from the gathering darkness in unimpaired grandeur and strength.

The lines of the greatest of American poets well expressed the confidence and enthusiasm of the two Houses of Congress at that memorable meeting on the 4th day of July, 1861:

> Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
> Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
> Humanity with all its fears,
> With all the hopes of future years,
> Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
>
> * * * *
>
> In spite of rock and tempest roar,
> In spite of false lights on the shore,
> Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
> Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
> Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
> Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
> Are all with thee—are all with thee!

On that 4th day of July, 1861, WILLIAM D. KELLEY first entered this Hall as a member of the House. The unseen forces in the great current of human affairs—forces of which men seem unconscious, which underlie physical revolutions, and ever bear onward the human race to a higher and better life—were organizing events which statesmanship could not

perceive. Statesmen and politicians were "building better than they knew."

In the political contest of 1860 an unusual number of able men were chosen by the people to represent them in this Hall. The great political party, the counsels of whose statesmen had in the main guided the affairs of the Republic in former years, was broken into fragments. New men took charge of the ship of state. Pennsylvania furnished to the House in the Thirty-seventh Congress a very able body of men. Of Republicans there were Thaddeus Stevens, John Hickman, John Covode, James K. Moorhead, and Galusha A. Grow, who was elected Speaker, already experienced legislators; WILLIAM D. KELLEY, Edward McPherson, William Morris Davis, and others, all of whom were destined to play an important part in public affairs. Of Democrats, Hendrick B. Wright, the successor of George W. Scranton, the founder of the city of his name, whose early death in the midst of a career of great usefulness caused deep and sincere public sorrow; Philip Johnson, Sydenham E. Ancona, and others, men of high merit, who made honorable records in this Hall.

It might be supposed, in view of their long service, that I had omitted the names of Samuel J. Randall and Charles O'Neill, but the entry of those distinguished gentlemen into the public service did not occur until the opening of the Thirty-eighth Congress, two years after Judge KELLEY became a member of the House.

Having been acquainted with the predecessor of Judge KELLEY, after the House organized I went over and formed his acquaintance. We talked of his predecessor, of whom he spoke in high commendation; we talked of the condition of our country and the exigencies of the hour. I soon saw the spirit and high aspirations of the new member from

Pennsylvania. He talked freely; there was no halting in his convictions.

He looked into the future without doubt or apprehension. The Union was safely intrenched in the affections and hopes of the people, and no revolution could be strong enough to even weaken the foundations on which the fathers had erected the structure. The fierce conflict impending would open up a new era; the slavery of the African, the only obstacle which in the beginning clouded the hopes of the fathers of a perpetual union of the States, would perish. Unconscious forces, under the command of Providence, were to open up in the North American Continent a scene of unexampled grandeur. I could not but admire his enthusiasm. Judge KELLEY, as I saw him on that 4th day of July, 1861, was in the very bloom of confident manhood. The mysterious power of hope illuminated to him the scenes of the coming years with rays of golden light. He impressed me in that brief interview with the conviction that with opportunity he would impress his views and opinions on affairs and policies of Government.

I was charmed with Judge KELLEY, though I did not fully concur in his views or feel the confidence he expressed in the future of our country, while rejoicing in the hope he expressed. His bearing then, as always afterwards, was pleasant and courteous; his manner genial, not much inclined to self-assertion, but in a degree diffident; yet his manner expressed confidence in himself; with a pleasant and kindly face, a bright, sagacious eye that seemed to see everything transpiring, and yet at moments with an absent expression; with a charming voice, under wonderful control and of great compass, that in after years on countless occasions was to reach every nook of this great Hall, and which men would always stop to hear; such was Judge KELLEY as I recall him

to my mind after this long interval of nearly twenty-nine years.

Judge KELLEY'S record in Congress is in the main confined to three great subjects—the abolition of slavery, the currency, and the tariff. He was as determined, steadfast, and practical in his support of the abolition of slavery in our country as was Charles Sumner in the Senate or Thaddeus Stevens in the House, or as Wilberforce or the poet Montgomery were for its abolition in the British Possessions. He was intensely hostile to slavery from the time he became a member of the House.

I think he allied himself with the Republican party because he believed that that party would in the main embody and express the anti-slavery sentiment of the American people. He sympathized keenly with the down-trodden and the miserable. He believed in the capacity of all men for progress and improvement, that all men should have an opportunity to better their condition, and that the distinctive glory of the Christian religion was that it taught the unity of the human race, that all men were brethren. He hated all forms of human servitude; he would raise up the lowly and give them an opportunity to assert their manhood; hence he championed the measure for arming the slave that he might strike for his own liberty; he would liberate and enfranchise the slave because he was a man. He believed in the human race; he saw in the convulsions which overthrew hoary-headed distinctions among men, in the fierce antagonisms between rival States, the wrecks of revolution, the everlasting and feverish unrest in the social as well as the political world, only the outward expression of the aspirations of the human heart for a purer atmosphere, for social life a larger liberty and a juster recognition of the natural equality and manhood of mankind; the race

ever struggling to be better. He would have said with Longfellow, making the race the "Poet, Prophet, Seer:"

> In their feverish exultations,
> In their triumph and their yearning,
> In their passionate pulsations,
> In their words among the nations,
> The Promethean fire is burning.

Judge KELLEY saw with exultation, emerging from the wreck of war, the accomplishment of the purpose to which he had devoted the earlier period of his life, the slave emancipated and enfranchised and representatives of the race in both Halls of Congress.

He was a valuable associate of Thaddeus Stevens in the contest in Congress as to the form in which the national debt should be created. He stood firmly with Mr. Stevens in demanding that the currency which should meet the enormous requirements of the war should be issued in the form of legal-tender Treasury notes, convertible into public securities, the principal and interest of which should be payable in the same currency; hence his opposition to the national-bank system.

Mr. Stevens, the author of the legal-tender system of currency (greenbacks), was only partially successful in securing the adoption of his system in 1862. Judge KELLEY adhered to it without faltering, and went at a later period to the verge of a rupture with his party in its defense. Experience has demonstrated that the plan of Mr. Stevens would have resulted greatly to the advantage of the people.

While the statesmen in Congress were ransacking every field of property and industry for subjects for taxation to meet the demands on the Treasury the question of the tariff gave rise to but little discussion.

At a later period, when the public debt was materially reduced and it was obvious that the resources of the coun-

try would readily meet every demand on the Treasury, the tariff became a subject of absorbing interest. In the mean time Judge KELLEY had become a great master of political science from the stand-point of the great party with which he was associated. He explored every field of learning and experience bearing upon the subject, and for twenty years he has been a high authority on all questions bearing upon the tariff as a means and method for promoting American industry. His elaborate speeches on that subject display great ability and inexhaustible industry. He must be regarded as one of the greatest and best informed advocates of that policy our country has produced.

Judge KELLEY is justly entitled to be classed as a statesman of a very high order. He was not a politician in the sense in which that term is commonly used; he was not subservient as a partisan. He stood by his convictions of public duty without hesitation. He parted with his political friends, under a sense of duty, on the currency question, indifferent to the result. He refused, with dignified courtesy, to employ his time required in the public service to securing appointments to office of political associates. He served a great constituency in a great city in the high duties of a member of this House for over twenty-eight years, and that, too, without interruption, a longer period of service than has been known in this House since the beginning, over a century ago, and had he lived to the close of this Congress his service would have reached thirty years, and that, too, during a period crowded with a greater number of great events beneficial to mankind than any other period of the world's history. He has made a great record on great and historical questions. He came into this Hall when clouds of war covered the whole land and the Union was in mortal peril. He lived to see his country prosperous and united,

every State of the Union in its place, the asperities of war supplanted by the kindly relations of a united people, and peace and brotherly kindness overshadowing the great States of the Union—

Like the protecting hand of God inverted above them.

He left this Hall for the last time, bending under the weight of years employed in the service of his country, conscious of possessing the affectionate regards of all the members of this great assemblage. His political opponents as well as his political friends alike join in sentiments of honor to his memory. Surely, this is a fortunate termination of a long and valuable life.

Hon. N. P. BANKS, of Massachusetts, paid a very eloquent and touching tribute to his long-time friend and associate of the House of Representatives, which made upon his hearers an impression not soon to be forgotten. No more feeling expressions were uttered by any of the eulogists than came from the lips of General BANKS.

ADDRESS OF MR. MILLS, OF TEXAS.

Mr. SPEAKER: When we pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of WILLIAM D. KELLEY our minds naturally recur to the period of our history through which his service extended. His Congressional career began on the 4th of March, 1861, and ended with his life on the 9th of January, 1890. He was chosen a Representative for thirty consecutive years, and was a member of the House for nearly twenty-nine years. During a large part of that time the country was passing through the most trying ordeal that

had ever occurred in its history. After his first election and before his induction into office some of the States had declared the bands of political union dissolved, and soon after the fratricidal struggle began. No one supposed it was to assume such gigantic proportions or to last so long.

The wisest statesmen on either side never dreamed of the limitless military power of the country or the extent to which it would be called into action. But it was soon demonstrated that vast armies were to be levied, organized, equipped, and supported; that quartermaster, commissary, medical, and ordnance stores were to be provided for the largest military establishment ever known on the earth. All these had to be created by Congress, and with as little delay as possible.

Beyond these demands, and what was more perplexing and difficult of accomplishment, a financial system had to be improvised to meet the daily drafts upon the Treasury, practically empty. In the preparation and passage of all these measures Judge KELLEY'S brain and pen bore a conspicuous part. He was then in the vigor of his manhood and the zenith of his intellectual resources. He came to Congress well equipped for the difficult work which a great civil war made necessary to be done. His life had been spent in mental toil. Books had been his constant companions. Few of his associates were as well up in the knowledge of the country and its resources as he, and few of them made their influence so potent in the legislation of the country, in devising the means to prosecute the war and supply the army with the men and material necessary to make it efficient.

Unhappily for the country, the difficulties which confronted Congress did not cease with the termination of the conflict. The war left a large debt as a part of its inher-

itance. To preserve the public credit means had to be provided to meet its annual interest and provide for its gradual extinction. The conquered States had to be restored to the Union. Their governments had to be reorganized. The passions and resentments engendered by civil war had to be allayed, wounds had to be soothed and healed, and the people who had been belligerents had to be reunited in the same Government. The problem was filled with difficulties to the brim, and it required for its solution more than ordinary statesmanship.

It could hardly be a matter of surprise that mistakes were made, and mistakes which it would have required extraordinary wisdom and extraordinary virtue and extraordinary leaders to have avoided. They were such as were common among the English-speaking people in the hour of triumph over their revolted kinsmen. The terms of restoration were harsh, and the manner of their enforcement still harsher. The rehabilitation, both political and social, would have been more quickly and more easily accomplished if the hand that wielded the power had been more softly gloved.

Wiser and more desirable as the milder course would have been, yet in the light of the experience of other peoples similarly situated who had fallen under the edge of the sword, it was not to be expected. It required time after the storm had stilled for the billows to cease to roll and break over the surface of the troubled waters. The lawless surges when they roll do not consider natural or political rights, but sweep wildly over everything in their course.

In recalling the history of reconstruction I do not do so in any spirit of complaint. It was one of the inevitable results of civil war, and while it might have been made a brighter period in our history, yet it might have been made on the other hand infinitely darker. When all those now living are

sleeping in their graves, and the generations yet in the womb shall have come into being and occupied our places; when all hate and resentment left as inheritance from the struggle shall sleep the sleep that knows no breaking, then our children and children's children will point with pride to the fact, as it will stand recorded in the annals of their country, that but a few years after the struggle the distinguished chieftains that led the opposing armies in the field and the statesmen that directed the counsels of the opposing governments sat together in the Senate and House of Representatives of the restored Union and of a re-united people.

Perhaps in scanning the pages of the records of the House they will feel a thrill of pleasure when they see that its membership was assembled in its Hall on the 15th of March, 1890, to render funeral honors to one of the most distinguished statesmen of the Union; one whose hand had steadied the helm when the ship of state, in the convulsion of the conflict, was riding out the storm and slowly but surely coming into the harbor of safety; that more than one hundred of those that stood about his bier had borne arms against the Government when the terrible conflict was on, and now, when it was over and ended forever, were as ready and as willing, if occasion required, to devote life and fortune to the service of the Union.

The party to which Judge KELLEY belonged and of which he was a distinguished leader was in possession of the Government and charged with the responsibilities of all legislation affecting the reconstruction and restoration of the revolted States. In all its plans and policies I have no doubt he fully concurred, feeling that it was the course which prudence dictated as the wisest and best; but it may be said to his credit that he did not feel constrained on every occasion to add to the harshness of the measures by railing accusa-

tions thrown in the faces of the people upon whom they were to be enforced.

This to them will be a bright spot in his memory and one which they will recall with grateful feelings. He was not revengeful in his nature. Hate and resentment found no resting-place in his heart. Thank God, the hearts in which they still live are lessening in number day by day, and it is fervently hoped that the day is not distant when they shall wholly disappear, and from one end of the Republic to the other we shall feel the ties of fraternal affection binding us together in one indissoluble bond of family union.

During the long period of my service with Judge KELLEY here I am glad to say that I can not recall an instance in this House or out of it where he ever uttered cruel or unkind words of the people among whom I live. Throughout his whole public life he was the advocate and defender of measures directly opposite to everything they held dear to them. He opposed slavery, and never for one moment let his opposition sleep. He urged its abolition. He favored the enfranchisement of the negro. He supported all the measures he thought were necessary to secure these ends, but in doing so he taught a lesson others might learn, that one could support harsh measures without using harsh words. He knew how to be severe when provoked. No man had better command of vigorous English than he. His abstaining from its use was not from want of capacity but from want of inclination.

During his public life he spoke and wrote on all the great questions that came before Congress, but he will be especially remembered for his able advocacy of the restriction of foreign commerce and the protection of American manufactures against foreign competition. This was the thought that never slept in his brain. It accompanied him wherever he

went and only left him when the lamp of life had burned down into the ashes of old age and was extinguished. He believed in it with all his heart. He accepted without reservation all the articles of faith embraced in its creed. To study it in all its phases and to support it in all its conflicts was to him a labor of love. He investigated it at home and abroad, and felt convinced that he could trace its results in home and foreign industrial development.

Everything he saw or heard or read was turned toward his favorite theory. It would be difficult to find anywhere another who had gathered so large a store of information about every branch of manufactures. He knew the materials entering into the manufacture of a great number of products, and the different processes they passed through in coming to the finished article. He was not only familiar with the tariff history of his own country, but of that of other commercial countries. He was a man of extensive reading, of good memory, of well-disciplined mind, and a high order of ability. To these he added the accomplishments obtained by travel in foreign lands and familiar acquaintance with the character, habits, and business of foreign peoples.

My acquaintance with Judge KELLEY began in the Forty-third Congress. He was then an able and aggressive debater, and stood easily among the ablest and best in the House. In his later years the infirmities of age and the depressing effects of disease made him averse to the struggles of the intellectual arena. As age and the feebleness that follows in its train grew upon him he became a silent member, rarely participating in debate, and confining his legislative work to casting his vote for such measures as met the approval of his judgment.

His work is now done. The trust which he kept so long is ended. The office which he filled for so many years and

with so much distinction returns to his constituency, his body to the dust from which it sprang, and his spirit to the God who gave it. All that is mortal of WILLIAM D. KELLEY now peacefully sleeps in the midst of those whom he served so long, and whose will and opinions he so faithfully represented.

As a Representative his continuous service surpassed that of any other member of the House from the organization of the body. I have served with him here nearly seventeen years. Eight years of that time we have been members of the same committee, and during all the time of our long acquaintance on terms of uninterrupted personal friendship. In politics we were opposites, but differences in political opinions were fought out in the political arena and never disturbed our social relations. We have often spoken of his long service in the House. Some years ago I said to him that I supposed that no member of the House had served as long as he had. He replied that he had thought so himself, but on investigating the subject he found that Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, was ahead of him.

Mr. Macon was elected to the House for fourteen consecutive terms, but before he had served out the twenty-seventh year he was chosen a Senator and continued his long service in the other branch of Congress. Judge KELLEY lived to pass the term of three-score and ten allotted to man and to go beyond the long period of service here by the illustrious citizen of North Carolina. The rolls of the House show that of the thousands of Representatives who have served in the House only KELLEY, Macon, and COX, among the dead, and Randall, O'Neill, and Holman, among the living, have held that high honor for a quarter of a century.

The long life of Judge KELLEY was full of public service and public honors. Throughout the whole period of his

public career he enjoyed the unshaken confidence and affection of the people among whom he lived and for whom he labored so zealously and so long. And now, when life's fitful fever is over, like a tired laborer after a long day's toil, he returns to his home in the gathering shadows of the evening, and lies down to quiet and peaceful slumbers.

ADDRESS OF MR. MCKINLEY, OF OHIO.

Mr. SPEAKER: I can not refrain from claiming for a moment or two the attention of the House to bring my tribute of respect and affection to my old friend, for whom living I had the most affectionate regard and whose death takes from all of us an honorable associate, a wise counselor, and from some of us a very close and dear friend. I first met Judge KELLEY in the Forty-fifth Congress. In the following Congress I was associated with him on the Committee on Ways and Means, and from that time until the close of the last Congress I served with that distinguished statesman on the committee to which he devoted so much of the labor of his life, and with whose business, for almost a quarter of a century, he will be always remembered.

No eulogy which I will speak can do justice to the noble life which has closed. His life-work is his highest eulogy; what he wrought for his fellow-men and the impress he made upon the legislation of the country will be his best and most enduring memorial. That which most impressed me in my long acquaintance with him was his thoroughness, his industry, his capacity for work, his sturdy integrity, his wide range of information. Every subject he touched he became master of. Not content with scratching the crust merely, he

penetrated the strata and foundation, and his public speeches and contributions to magazines evidenced a grasp of the subjects he was considering which few men possess. He was a great student and did his work with method, and therefore with dispatch. The long hours he gave to his public duties, to the critical investigation of the questions with which he was charged as a member of the House, will never be known, and they told awfully upon his strength. His work in his committee was of the most laborious character; the days were too short, and the nights which should have been given to rest were exacted by the stern demands of duties placed upon him.

His intellectual resources were almost without limit. His knowledge of economic, financial, and scientific questions was vast and comprehensive. He was not only a reader of books and of current literature, but a keen and intelligent observer of forces, of causes, and events. Scarcely a subject could be discussed with which he was not familiar and which was not illuminated from his store-house of knowledge. His work in the Forty-seventh Congress as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means so drained his vital forces as to be the beginning of that physical impairment which ended in his death. It was a fearful draught upon his strength.

As a student and master of political economy he was probably without a superior in the present generation, and as the advocate of the doctrine of protection he was for twenty years the unquestioned leader; always in the very front rank and on the extreme outpost. He was devoted to the principle, because it was a conviction with him, and because he believed it would best subserve the interests of his fellow-citizens and secure the highest prosperity of his country. His name in that field of public duty will pass into history

linked with the name of that other great protectionist, Henry Clay.

As an orator, at his best he was powerful and persuasive. His voice was full and musical, his sentences clear and rhetorical, his information and illustration striking and forceful. I recall some of his speeches in this Hall as the most impressive I have ever listened to; and whether on this floor or on the hustings, where vast crowds delighted to greet him, he carried his audiences by the irresistible force of his logic and the fervor of his eloquence.

He was an honest man, and that after all counts most and is best. Never did suspicion even fasten upon him—he was above it. For thirty years in public life, a member of the House of Representatives during the war, with its waste and destruction, followed by doubtful schemes and wild speculations; called upon as he was to deal with great public and private interests and much of the time in touch and control of legislation which affected vast enterprises, while others fell before the temptations of the hour, he passed through all unscathed and unsullied, uncorrupted and incorruptible, and leaves to his family and friends and his countrymen that highest of all honorable titles, an honest man.

He had a wonderful hold upon the people and upon his immediate constituency. For thirty years he represented the same district; fifteen times in succession he was returned to this House by an intelligent and discriminating constituency, and while not at all times in accord upon every public question with those he represented, such confidence did his people have in his honesty and capacity and usefulness that they would elect no other Representative to displace him. This was a rare distinction, given, I believe, to no other man of the present or past, no other statesman living or

dead; and at the end he was more firmly intrenched in the respect and affection of his people than at any other period of his career.

He devoted his whole life, his vigorous youth, his matured manhood, and his declining strength and energy to the public service, and his name will be associated with the greatest events of our national history. That public which he served so well owe him a debt which it can never repay. Men of all classes and conditions turned to him as their friend, and he served them faithfully and well. We shall miss him from these halls. We have already missed him.

We will honor him most by emulating his many virtues.

ADDRESS OF MR. BINGHAM, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: He who took the harp of the North from "the witch elm that shades St. Fillan's Spring" has gone to sleep beneath "the pillared arches" and there is none left to wake the echoes of the vanished strains.

In the death of WILLIAM DARRAH KELLEY there passed away to join the unreturning caravan, "to where, beyond these voices, there is rest," not only one of the most distinguished members of our body, but one of the most conspicuous figures that have stood in public life as a subject of popular attention during the last half of this eventful century.

Although his life was lustrous with grand achievements, and his career masterful and almost matchless, it is not my purpose to review it in detail. His noble characteristics, his unremitting labor and tireless toil, a life-work rounded, are better perpetuated in the lasting annals of our Government than I could preserve them in the most glowing

rhetoric that faithful friendship could inspire or intimate association dictate.

Judge KELLEY was in public life and wearing the deserved emblems of an honored position ere I had passed "the dreams of childhood days." He had conquered more than the ordinary obstacles of life ere I had mastered the common books of school-boy days. He had won grand triumphs ere many of us had put on the armor of warfare. He had abandoned a distinguished office ere many whom I address had aspired to the responsibilities of public avocation.

I might well say of him, as the celebrated Talon said of the still more celebrated D'Augesseau on hearing his first speech at the bar, "I would willingly end as that young man commenced."

He was of an ambitious, heroic, rugged, stern, and aggressive mold of character. "He wore the white flower of a blameless life," while but few roses made glad or marked his pathway of duty.

He preferred to sow with the sowers rather than luxuriate with the harvesters. He preferred to march with the plodding phalanx rather than rejoice with the happy victors. He had the courage to encounter the most valiant gladiators of the arena, and the ability to vanquish the grandest champions of the forum. With his native ability and his natural attributes it were impossible for him to be the inert observer when he had the opportunity of becoming the aggressive actor. He was by his rich endowments, laborious training, and full learning, "the law's whole thunder born to wield."

But his restless genius and wise ambition prompted him to seek for greater laurels in wider fields. He was restless under the quiet duties which the functions of judicial life imposed. He doffed the spotless ermine, the noblest emblem

that pertains to the dignified domain of jurisprudence, to don the buckler and contend for the more uncertain chaplets that crown the varied achievements of honorable statesmanship. He passed from the forum of the bar to the halls of legislation and, *omnium assensu*, became the head and front of those who professed to comprehend and control the legislation which involved the political economy of our Government.

The reputation he made in this field of strife and labor will survive untarnished by time as a lasting tribute to his memory and a living guide for his successors. He has hung along the highways of legislation no dim, flickering, or uncertain lights. His protracted experiences, large information, and tireless industry have and will illumine the paths he has traced for generations to come. They will ever exist as the tested and reliable Pharos on the shores of the domain of legislation to point the inexperienced wayfarer, and pilot even those who have encountered the shoals and quicksands that endanger the mariner on the sea of political life. He appreciated the full measure of public duty and official fidelity. He realized the great weight of every burden he had to bear. He shirked no peril, evaded no hazard, circumvented no risk in the line of duty and province of obligation, but conscientiously wore the insignia of appointed avocation, fearless of confronting obstacles, daring in resources, and hopeful in favorable results.

Let no impulsive flattery paint pictures to tint virtues, to mask infirmities, or exaggerate worth. But let us here in this Hall, where to all his face and form were so familiar, with bowed heads and reverent hearts, do full justice to the memory of one who has filled no small space in the world's history and who everywhere and under all circumstances, regardless of personal bias or partisan prejudice, has invoked

by his illustrious and pre-eminent record the homage of the faithful, the gratitude of the generation, and the tears of the loving to embalm a character that may well be our cloud by day and pillar of fire by night. He has passed to the sleep that knows no awakening, and to the dreamless rest that furnishes no heralds. As he came from the unknown so he has journeyed to the inscrutable, playing his common part in the act of humanity which the great Jehovah permits in our brief earthly sojourn, which is but a flash of light between two great darknesses, the whence and the whither.

ADDRESS OF MR. WILSON, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall not attempt to rehearse the life of Judge KELLEY or to present an estimate of his services as legislator and statesman. Such a review and such an estimate come more appropriately and with far more authority from those who served longer with him in this House, or who were brought nearer to him in their service than myself. Indeed, I can not claim to have enjoyed more than the formal acquaintance that grows out of membership of the same body, until I found myself, at the beginning of the last Congress, seated just opposite to him at the table of the Committee on Ways and Means. That association, or perhaps I should with more accuracy say that opposition, which brought us into constant antagonism in the work of the committee and in our views of the great public questions that occupied so much of the time of the Fiftieth Congress, gave rise, as frequently happens in this House, to a cordial and pleasant friendship that was never checked or strained by these open and avowed differences of political opinion.

In a large body like this, where the two parties not only

sit widely apart but in semi-hostile array, close social intermingling is the exception rather than the rule. The free and intimate association of the committees, where most of the real work of legislation is done, plays a needed and useful part in tempering the asperities of partisan conflict and of individual antagonism.

Such close contact, even for a single Congress, is a test that settles forever our estimate of colleagues and opponents and sets in unchanging colors our feelings toward them.

If it occasionally confirms and hardens previous dislikes, it no less frequently replaces prejudice with warm and unfading friendship. I esteem it, Mr. Speaker, one of the most precious fruits of service here that I have garnered from my committee associations friendships which political concord does not enhance and political antagonism can not mar or destroy. It is to the memory of such a friendship that I bring a very humble but a very sincere tribute to-day.

From the beginning of my acquaintance with Judge KELLEY he was an interesting personage to me. His name had been a prominent one in the proceedings of Congress from my earliest knowledge of those proceedings. He had been an actor, or at least the intimate associate of actors, in all the recent political history of the country.

However much advancing years and waning health had sapped the strength of the old warrior and compelled him, most reluctantly as all could see, to resign to younger hands the leadership of battles he had so long gloried in fighting, they had not tamed his ardor for the fray nor had they clouded his memory of the past; and to hear him discourse of that past was like seeking history from its fountain-head, from one who had seen it all and his full share of it had performed.

It was in such recitals as these that a younger colleague

like myself was wont to engage him, nothing loath, and in these recitals to see the kindly and genial side of a man habitually serious if not severe, who in the contests of the House used weapons on which there were no foils.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is not fitting that I should merely commemorate my own personal acquaintance with Judge KELLEY. He was not only a leading and well-known actor in the debates and proceedings of this House; he had for years past been a unique and interesting figure as one who had enjoyed a longer period of consecutive service than any other member here. To have served for nearly one-third of the life of the Republic, to have received fifteen successive elections from the same people, was enough to have given him a prominence had he been in himself but a minor character and an obscure personage in our proceedings.

And no one, Mr. Speaker, will venture to assert that he owed this long service and this unwavering support of a single constituency to any servitude to a political machine, to any skill in political arts and management, still less by virtue of being what is unhappily becoming a somewhat familiar character in current politics, a party "boss." He held his seat upon the honorable terms of being the representative of definite and well-known political ideas, which he was always ready to maintain, to defend, and to propagate, and which his political opponents thought he was only too successful in embodying into the laws and the fiscal policies of the country. In the advocacy of these ideas he represented, undoubtedly, the prevailing sentiment of his constituents, and they, having full confidence in his able and unswerving devotion to these ideas and in the purity and virtues of his private character, did not attempt to hamper, control, or criticise him as to his views and his action on other public questions.

Public service on such terms is an honor and a privilege so rare as to be coveted and to be held up to general commendation, for it is the only kind of public service that can produce statesmen or be highly promotive of the common welfare. We often witness the sudden and permanent disappearance from our legislative halls of men who are the ornaments of their parties and able, judicious public servants, because in some minor or unimportant question they have offended the whims, run counter to the private interests, or disregarded the unenlightened views of enough of their constituents to make a balance of power in a close district, while the main body of their constituents, and even the country at large, may bewail their disappearance as a public loss.

In other countries having the representative system new constituencies are always ready and eager to take up such men and to continue them in the public service; but with us the highest ability, statesmanship, and merit are not able to lift a citizen into our Legislative Hall if a majority of the people of the particular district in which he happens to reside do not agree with him in all his political views. A great British statesman, one whose memory America delights to honor as sincerely as his native land, when importuned by his constituents to follow their wishes in a minor matter as the condition of their continued support, uttered these noble words:

> I should only disgrace myself. I should lose the only thing which can make such abilities as mine of any use to the world, now or hereafter. I mean that authority which is derived from the opinion that a member speaks the language of truth and sincerity, and that he is not ready to take up or lay down a great political system for the convenience of an hour; that he is in Parliament to support his opinion of the public good, and does not form his opinion in order to get into Parliament or to continue in it.

The city of Bristol, not willing to allow Mr. Burke this honorable freedom, lost his services and passed over to another and nobler constituency the honor of being represented by so great a man.

The city of Philadelphia, or rather that section of it which he represented, was not so intolerant with Judge KELLEY, and having found him a faithful servant, enjoyed for the remainder of his life his able services and the distinction of being represented by one of the best-known and most positive men ir the Federal Congress.

Well, indeed, would it be if such instances were less rare than we must confess them to be; well, indeed, for the public and the highest welfare of the country, if the oath of office to be taken and faithfully and honestly to be observed by the members of both Houses of Congress were like that which an old historian tells us was prescribed in 1621 for members of the council of the colony of Virginia:

> You shall in all things to be moved, treated, and debated in that council, faithfully and truly declare your mind and opinion according to your heart and conscience.

It was doubtless the spirit of this oath that guided and illustrated the long public career of Judge KELLEY. All honor to the generous and wise constituency that left him free to its guidance. All honor to the faithful servant who held and was willing to hold their commission upon no other terms. Having said this of Judge KELLEY, it is not necessary that I should make a catalogue of his virtues or attempt an inventory of his deeds.

ADDRESS OF MR. CANNON, OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. SPEAKER: WILLIAM D. KELLEY was a force in the country. He stood for an economic policy which affected the opinions of men, controlled their action, and in its operation reached the material interests of the citizen on the farm and in the factory, in the mine and in the forest, in the marts of trade, everywhere throughout the country where men followed gainful employment. Under all circumstances, at all times, in all places, he was true to his convictions as the needle to the pole.

Mr. KELLEY was in his fifteenth term of continuous service in the House at the time of his decease, a length of continuous service rarely accorded to any man in Congress, especially in the popular body. I first made his acquaintance during the Forty-third Congress. He was then the Father of the House, and so remained until his decease. Serving with him for so many years, and belonging to the same political organization, I saw much of him, felt that I was well acquainted with him, believed that I had his esteem, as he had mine, as well as my admiration. He was at that time but little past the meridian; always strong mentally, he was then strong physically. It was his fortune to serve during a period in the history of the country, measuring time by events, that lengthened his actual service of over twenty-eight years into a century.

During his service he measured arms and touched elbows with perhaps the greatest number of strong men that have been in public life in the same length of time during the existence of the Republic. The House of Representatives,

at all times made up in the main of the picked men of the country, was never stronger continuously than during his service. There were Sherman, Stevens, Banks, the two Hoars, Butler, Farnsworth, Bingham, McCrary, Blaine, Colfax, Garfield, Kerr, Beck, Hewitt, Potter, Cox, Lamar, Randall, Morrison, Dawes, Shellabarger, and a host of others, veritable giants in the land, who placed the marks of their individuality, wisdom, and patriotism in the warp and woof which was woven into the history of the country. WILLIAM D. KELLEY stood during his long service the peer of his colleagues. No man could so stand at such a period and with men of such stature without having great strength, merit, and industry. He had all of these.

Nature did much for him. Industry, care, preparation did more. He rarely discussed public questions without the most exhaustive preparation. In his chosen specialty his speeches and sayings became the text-books in popular discussion of the school to which he belonged. I talked with him many times about his service in the House. He was especially proud of his constituency and of its approval, as evidenced by his long service. He believed in his country and its institutions, and held that Philadelphia was the typical American city. He gloried in her history, prosperity, and culture. It was especially a matter of pride to him that her artisans owned their own homes, and that her system of common schools was such that all the children received a liberal instruction and training. He believed that the economic system of which he was so consistent an advocate was the foundation upon which the prosperity of the great mass of people securely rested.

I will not speak further of his public record. It needs no commendation from me. It is written in the march of the industrial prosperity of the Republic. Mistaken he may

have been at times; sincere he always was. Few men in public life so rarely made mistakes.

In social life he was courteous, affable, bright. I have rarely met so companionable a man. For the last ten years of his life he had a constant conflict with disease, which, with age coming on, he was less able year after year to fight. Only his close friends knew how bravely he made the contest for life. He was a man who never complained or whined. He frequently expressed a desire to die in the harness. He died in the harness.

It was my privilege to be designated by the House as one of those who helped to bury his remains. We took all that was left of WILLIAM D. KELLEY after life departed to the modest church in his loved city, where in life he had worshiped. Standing at the head of the casket containing his remains, his friend and pastor, Dr. Furness, himself full of years and almost ready to put his armor off, paid the most touching tribute to the memory of his dead friend and parishioner that it has ever been my fortune to hear. We then proceeded to the beautiful cemetery of Laurel Hill and laid him to sleep amongst friends and loved ones who had gone before.

As I stood over his grave I said his life was a success. Comparatively poor in property, yet he had enough for comfort. In this respect he was above want and below envy. The loved ones and children who survived him, strong, vigorous, and willing to work honorably in life's contest, are rich in the heritage of a name made honorable in efficient service to the State. May the Republic in future be blessed by increasing numbers of public servants of the type of WILLIAM D. KELLEY!

ADDRESS OF MR. MCKENNA, OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the solemn ritual for the dead it is announced to the living that man's life is three-score years and ten, and some by special strength may attain four-score years. Judge KELLEY had almost that special strength—lived almost four-score years. But better, the strength he had was exerted for his country—the years he lived were filled with merit and distinction, impressing "the very age and body of the time."

Such lives supersede praise. We can recount their acts. It is useless eulogy to extol them. To summarize Judge KELLEY'S life would be to summarize the greatest period of his country's history. He was a potent factor in it, always in the front rank of men, a peer of the acknowledged strongest. Yet he was not "fortune's minion." His youth was one of responsibility and toil—his whole life one of unwearied industry. He was a jeweler's apprentice in Philadelphia from his fourteenth to his twentieth year. He had no education and was debarred from the schools. It would not have been unnatural if he had remained in routine drudgery and mere bread-winning. His aspiring spirit could not be so restrained. His strength and distinctiveness of character could not be obscured or subdued by any situation or circumstance. For study, he plucked time from the night; for books, he organized with some companions the Youth's Library, afterwards the Pennsylvania Literary Institute. Such men help us when they help themselves; from them issue and grow institutions—instrumentalities of good.

He was a journeyman jeweler in Boston, and there, while faithful to his manual work, his ability strengthened and

took form, and his biographer tells us he was associated in more than one programme of lectures with Channing and Emerson, then ascending to the zenith of a deserved fame. Back again to Philadelphia, he there becomes a lawyer, and thereafter, forgetting or overlooking his humble commencement as he ascends to and achieves fame, we think of him and speak of him as jurist, legislator, and statesman.

He was always a politician, but a politician in the best sense of that much-abused word. Politics engaged at once his energies and his sympathies. In them he had to do with mankind and for mankind. He was a natural leader besides. He was confident in opinion and vehement; but his reasoning was clear, consecutive, and proportioned. His physical characteristics assisted his mental characteristics. He was tall and impressive looking, his voice was full, deep, sonorous, and musical, flexible to every purpose of persuasion, exhortation, and command.

In my boyhood days, in my home in Philadelphia, I heard Judge KELLEY spoken of. In my manhood, in the distant West, I watched and applauded his fame as it became national. I have been his associate in Congress, and have witnessed the close of his noble and distinguished career—noble, because its impulse and purpose was patriotic; distinguished, because great qualities were displayed in it and great good accomplished by it. He died a representative of the Republic; he died in the country's service.

ADDRESS OF MR. REILLY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: The very able, eloquent, and exhaustive tributes that have been paid to the memory and life of our departed colleague by the distinguished gentlemen who have preceded me, as well as the lateness of the hour, admonish me that I ought not to further trench upon the time of the House by indulging in any extended remarks, and that there is no necessity for it.

Besides, the public career of Judge KELLEY is so well known, not only to the people of his own State whom he served so long and well, but to the people of the entire country, that, as has been so aptly said by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McKinley], his life-work constitutes in itself his highest eulogy.

I first became personally acquainted with the late Judge KELLEY at the opening of the Forty-fourth Congress, since which time, although differing with him politically, our personal relations have been more or less intimate, and at all times and under all circumstances, in common with his fellow-citizens, not only of our native State, which I have the honor in part to represent on this floor, but with his fellow-citizens throughout the country, have joined in admiration of his illustrious career and of the great services he rendered to the country and to the people.

Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of no greater responsibility that can be imposed upon any man than to seat him in this Chamber as a legislator for this great and mighty people. Under our form of government every other public official has a safe, plain landmark, a guide-post by which to direct him in the discharge of his public duties. To be the Chief

Executive of this mighty and free people is an honor that is exalted above any other civic station that man can be called to fill anywhere on the face of the globe; but great as is the honor and great as is the responsibility, yet the duties of the Chief Magistrate of the nation are but to execute the laws of the land as he finds them laid down in the statute-books.

So also with the other co-ordinate branch of the Government, the Judiciary. What more exalted tribunal can the imagination conceive than the Supreme Court of the United States, a tribunal in which we expect to find and look for the exercise of those attributes the perfection of which is alone to be found in the Deity? And yet they but administer the law, they but adjudicate the rights of the citizen involving life, liberty, and property, under and according to the written law of the land. But who, Mr. Speaker, who shall measure the responsibility of the law-giver; he who sits clothed with the great power and responsibility of legislating for the welfare of a free and independent people; he who holds in the hollow of his hand, as it were, the destinies of a nation to be affected for weal or woe by the action of the Legislative Department?

But looking back over the career of Judge KELLEY, which for more than a quarter of a century had been devoted to the discharge of those great duties and to which he brought the highest and most conscientious convictions, what nobler tribute or greater eulogy, standing over his grave to-day, can we find ourselves able to pronounce than that his life-work was well done?

This can be truthfully said of him, and his eulogy is written not alone in his life-work, in the record of his membership in this body, but in the great services which he has rendered to the country and with which his name is con-

nected, which will go down on the undying pages of history as a tribute to his memory, to be appreciated and admired by every American citizen.

Mr. Speaker, a great career has closed; a great statesman and patriot has gone from amidst scenes which will know him no more forever. As has been stated, Judge KELLEY entered upon his career as a legislator on the 4th day of July, 1861, at a time when the very life of the nation trembled in the balance. But he entered upon his duties with a stern sense of duty, and for more than a quarter of a century he has continued therein with the same fidelity, never faltering or wavering. During the early days of this session we lodged at the same hotel. He was then ailing, but able to be about, and as I met him daily and inquired as to his health, he would answer by a despondent shake of the head and say, "Growing weaker and weaker."

He seemed, Mr. Speaker, to realize that his end was fast approaching; but with that spirit of industry and energy which characterized his life he made desperate battle. It was apparent that the sands of life were nearly run. It was his ambition to be called hence from the place where for nigh on to thirty years he had so zealously labored. Under the dispensation of a kind Providence he had passed the three-score and ten allotted to man, and in the ripeness of years, and after devoting the three decades of his mature manhood to the service of his country, he calmly passed away. Peace to his ashes!

ADDRESS OF MR. ATKINSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: He who was the senior in point of service in this House and first in the affections of his colleagues has passed away. His venerable form has disappeared from our midst, and his voice so familiar to us all has been forever hushed. A seat long occupied by the acquiescence of his colleagues is vacant, and a name has been stricken from the roll of living Representatives which has been borne thereon for a longer period than that of any other who ever served in this Hall.

After a long life, spent mostly in the service of the people of his native city and of this nation, WILLIAM D. KELLEY has gone to his final rest. Could he have chosen the circumstances of his death they would not have been different. Here in the performance of his duty as a Representative, surrounded by his family and friends, he gave back to his Creator the life which had been given him. Others who knew him longer will tell of his earlier career, of the qualities which made him an object of interest, of respect, and veneration; but I can not refrain from stating the impressions which he left upon me during an acquaintance extending through more than three terms of Congress. Kind, considerate, and genial, he freely advised with me when as a new member I sought his wise counsel, and he never seemed to weary in placing his time at the disposal of his friends or in opening his rich treasure-house of learning for their benefit.

Although suffering from a malady which at last ended his life, he knew but one measure of duty and he never left it unfulfilled. No important measure was presented to this

House that his vote was not recorded upon it, and few great problems were presented here that were not illuminated by his learning and influenced by his eloquence.

He entered Congress with the advent of the civil war, and for almost thirty years his influence was felt upon this floor. Always ready, able, and fearless, his convictions were known of all men, and his views upon the great questions discussed were impressed upon his party, adopted in its councils, and indorsed by the country. A student and disciple of Henry C. Carey, the principles of the great American political economist found no abler advocate; his earnest and tireless advocacy of protection placed him foremost among the distinguished men who have maintained the duty of developing and fostering the industries of the United States.

No cynical maxim ever fell from his lips. He believed and he taught that it was the duty of the Government to support the people in their business enterprises, to aid them in developing the marvelous resources of this our common country, and to shield them from foreign industrial assaults. A friend of the workingman, he never ceased to plead for that policy which he believed would lighten the burdens of the toiler and uplift him to the highest and most solid prosperity.

No sectionalism clouded his vision, but his comprehensive mind contemplated the prosperity of the South as well as the North, and no State lines contracted his statesmanship. He viewed with honest pride the possibilities of the South under the policy of protection, and anticipated the time when the vast cotton production of that section should be distributed in beautiful fabrics, instead of in a crude form. He contributed his full share to the growth of the iron interests of the South and never ceased to encourage the full development of that section so highly favored by nature. His clos-

ing years saw, if not the full fruition of his hopes, at least the light of that morning which precedes the advent of the great industrial day that will bring wealth and activity to the business centers of that portion of our common country.

He was a man of strong convictions, and heart and soul a Republican. He believed in his party and its principles. A model of industry, his attention to his legislative duties is shown by the records of the House of Representatives of which he was so long a member. But the services rendered by Judge KELLEY while in office do not measure the value of his life to the country. His views were impressed upon the people by his speeches and his writings and influenced the action of others upon many important public questions.

He had outlived detraction, the shafts of envy had long ago fallen harmless at his feet, and opposition to him was unthought of because it was known to be futile. Against him the defamer was powerless, and calumny exhausted her resources in vain.

His long and patriotic career, his rugged honesty and unflinching directness of purpose had disarmed enmity, and he was one of the few men in public life who lived unassailed. He leaves a stainless name and an unblemished reputation.

A living example of purity and devotion to duty, when death came it found him not unprepared. His career was complete, the affection of his countrymen secured; full of years and honors he passed into the night of death to emerge, as we believe, into that shining realm where sorrow and darkness are unknown.

There is no death! What seems so is transition;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portal we call Death.

ADDRESS OF MR. BRECKINRIDGE, OF KENTUCKY.

Mr. SPEAKER: The greatest of all human arts is the art of governing; the noblest of all secular enterprises is the experiment of free institutions. Statesmanship requires the exercise of the nobler qualities of mankind and elevates and dignifies them. It is that single pursuit which, earnestly and honestly and conscientiously followed, gives to every part of this complex nature of ours a chance for its highest development. That a man shall devote his life with unceasing industry and ceaseless love for mankind to the well-ordering of the greatest free nation that the world has ever seen is the very highest pursuit which any man could possibly follow.

However erroneous may be the opinions of such a man, and however he may be mistaken in the policies which he advocates, if he did believe those opinions and was convinced of the wisdom of those policies, his life could not but be fruitful. However thoroughly we may disagree in this Hall with our colleagues who pass from it to that greater and eternal country to which we are traveling; however fierce these contests may be (and the measure of their fierceness is frequently the truthfulness and intensity of our respective convictions), yet we can not but recognize in our hearts that where our opponents are honest they deserve our respectful commendation.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, there is not so much difference between us as we sometimes think. Out of these conflicts, which seem to be bitter, emerges that compromise which one of the greatest of essayists said was "the wisest statesmanship for the given day in which it was enacted." These differences produce their legitimate fruits; not by the conquest of one side over the other, but by the concessions that are made that legislation may become practical. And, per-

haps, the best evidence of the growth of a free people is that out of these conflicts of the past have grown compromises, where neither side feels that defeat has been his portion, and where the victorious side may feel that the victory that is accomplished has to be maintained by concessions in the future.

Judge KELLEY'S life was singularly fortunate in the apparent victory which his policies met. He was an intense anti-slavery man. He lived to see slavery abolished; the negro not only freed, but a voter. Yet, who can say that the end has been reached; for it but changed the relations of the races and the conditions of the problem; and that very victory has left the most momentous question, not only in the South but in other States, that the future has for our children to answer. Judge KELLEY believed in the doctrine of protection, and advocated it through a series of years, not only with entire persistency, but with unusual and conspicuous ability.

He died soon after a national victory based upon a platform of the great party of which he was one of the leaders, more nearly in accordance with his extreme views than any platform ever adopted in America. He died after the organization of a Congress organized in consonance with his opinions, and the chief committee of that Congress presided over by the ablest scholar and pupil whom he had probably had in his Congressional career; and yet who will be bold enough to say that the victory is complete, that there is no further battle for the advocates of protection? Who will say that the problems which were in dispute can be solved on the principles to which Judge KELLEY'S life was devoted? In a sense that is personal to him his life was a series of victories. He was for more than thirty years on the winning side. He knew no defeat from the time he was elected to Congress until his death.

Temporary obscurations in certain sections of the country of his party's victories had occurred; but nothing that may fairly be called disaster had ever occurred during his political career to the party of which he was a member. During that long period he was the recipient of its honors, and, what was dearer to him than mere honors, he was the recipient of its praises and of its plaudits until he became nearly the type of its belief and its principles.

This is a rare fortune to happen to a statesman. My friend from Ohio [Mr. McKinley] connected his name this afternoon with the name of the great Kentuckian who filled the seat that I have been commissioned to sit in—that great, illustrious, and majestic leader of men who, in a long and illustrious life, met only honor and encountered only defeat. This never happened to him whose memory we celebrate to-day, and in that sunshine of constant victory it is not too much to say the qualities of Judge KELLEY took on a brighter hue and became more vigorous than they might otherwise have done.

We can not estimate the power of development that resides in the educational influences of this House, especially to one who has gained leadership upon this floor. If Judge KELLEY had dropped out after four, or six, or even eight years of service here he would have been a comparatively obscure man; but as he staid here he gained in power; his power grew as his reputation extended; and it is a proof of the value of service on this floor.

Philadelphia has not only been generous, Mr. Speaker, but she has been wise. She has not only been a model of generous confidence in her public servants, but she has been an exemplar of worldly wisdom in her political adherence to those who represented her here. Who can estimate how much of Philadelphia's wealth, of those great blocks of

buildings, and of that accumulated capital the evidences of which enchant the eye wherever you go in Philadelphia—who can estimate how much of that has come from the devoted service, the intelligent co-operation, the constant fidelity to her interests of those gentlemen whom she has kept in this Hall for the last quarter of a century or more?

Mr. KELLEY and Mr. Randall might fight about other things, but to each of them Philadelphia was the prime object of affection; and by their efforts, with the aid of their colleagues, who have also been kept here for nearly a quarter of a century, whatever could be gotten was gotten for Philadelphia. I do not begrudge it to her. Standing, as it were, by the grave of her conspicuous son, hoping for the recovery of her living and stalwart son who, in his power, had the will of Jackson and the incorruptibility of the honest public servant, I do not begrudge anything that has happened of good to Philadelphia. I only wish that from this day out not only may she but all the country have a succession of such faithful public servants, securing peace within her borders and prosperity beside her firesides.

ADDRESS OF MR. KERR, OF IOWA.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am glad to be permitted to pay a tribute to the memory of the distinguished statesman who for so many years honored the State of Pennsylvania and the whole country by his service in this body. Of the men who were members of this body when that service began only three now occupy seats in this Hall—the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. Vandever], the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Holman], and the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Banks].

WILLIAM D. KELLEY was a type of the statesmen, more common in this country than elsewhere, who have come from the ranks of common life and who, by profound study, untiring energy, and unwavering devotion have been able to secure and retain the confidence of the people and thus be enabled to imprint their views on the policy of the nation. Thoroughly devoted to the fundamental principles of our Government, an ardent believer in the inalienable rights of man without regard to race or creed, he became an equally firm believer in the doctrine that the preservation and the prestige of our system depended on the policy of protection as a means of securing proper remuneration to labor and of elevating American character, and in the application of these principles he was broad and liberal in his views and rejoiced in the prosperity of his countrymen without regard to State or section.

I think no man in the country took a greater pride than the deceased statesman in the marvelous development that in the last few years has transformed the sunny South. Few men in this country have ever so fully enjoyed the confidence of their immediate constituents. The recognized Father of the House, he was trusted by his constituents as a kind and loving parent is trusted by his children. I had the pleasure in the last session to sit near him and to observe with what pleasure he read to the circle around him a letter from his home announcing his renomination, coupled with the statement that the writer was for WILLIAM D. KELLEY for Congressman during his natural life. Those of us who had observed how his robust mind contrasted with his feeble frame even then feared that his service in this body would soon draw to a close, and when we assembled at the beginning of this session and welcomed the kindly old gentleman to these halls, we felt that hovering over him was the shadow of impending death.

Perhaps no two men of opposite political views have had greater political influence than the two distinguished men whose places have been rendered vacant since the close of last Congress—the distinguished statesman from New York, Mr. Cox, and the statesman from Pennsylvania whom we mourn to-day; and no man on this side of the House, as I think, has borne a more conspicuous part in shaping the policy of this country than our late honored associate.

I was very much impressed a few weeks since by the classic address of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi on the occasion of the memorial services in honor of the late Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, in which that gentleman referred to the sentiment of dread with which the human soul shrinks from death. But, Mr. Speaker, I think as the human mind accepts the grand truths of the Christian faith we become more reconciled to this inevitable step in human destiny and accept with a calmness unknown before the transition to the great loving heart of the Infinite.

Death comes at last to all. When it strikes down the warrior in the full tide of victory, or the statesman in the triumph of his ideas, when his theories are in the ascendant, when his country is prosperous and triumphant, when he sits in the highest places enthroned in the confidence of the people, it soothes the anguish of bereavement. Our friend had achieved a high renown, and yet how slight and unsatisfying are all human glories.

> Oh, if there were not brighter hopes than these,
> Were there no palm beyond a feverish fame;
> If joy and hope and all the charities of life
> Must fling their withered wreaths into the tomb;
> If beyond this earth there is no heaven
> In whose wide air the spirit may find room,
> And in the converse of whose bright inhabitants
> The lavished heart may spend itself,
> What thrice-mocked fools are we.

It is only when a well-spent life fades away at evening, like that of our friend, in the calm promise of an eternal day, when life's fitful fever is over, that we attain the full fruition of human hopes and can say with the poet—

> There is no death! The stars go down
> To rise upon some fairer shore
> And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
> They shine forever more.

ADDRESS OF MR. REYBURN, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. SPEAKER: A few weeks ago, on a busy street of one of our large cities, groups of men were to be seen here and there coming together with quiet demeanor and strong grasp of hand, then separating and entering a low but massive structure; inside this a room, the light of heaven softened by windows of glass picturing the divine love and goodness of the God of all nations; with bowed heads the people wait. The strains of gentle music fill the air, a procession of the grief-stricken, clad in habiliments of woe, follow their dead; from above, as if from angelic regions, a sweet voice is heard chanting forth a song of tender words of consolation; a man feeble from ripeness of years, but with a nobleness of bearing born of much good doing and the teaching men to love one another, speaks words of encouragement to the weeping ones of that higher, better, purer life assured to mortals through the tender mercy of an all-wise Father who gave his only begotten Son that the dead might rise again; then gives the assurance to the sorrowing wife and children that though the form lay cold before them he knew that, chastened by the struggles and temptations of a stormy life such as few men live through, the dead husband and father clung to his belief in his God and his Saviour.

To the others assembled he spoke of the more than fifty years he had known the dead, and in words eloquent with truth, tempered by the softening of time, told of the fierce conflicts with the prejudices and passions of men; of the battles for principle and humanity; of the shock and horror of civil war and the troublesome times that followed its ending; of the strength of will and mind of the dead one before them; the prophetic foresight; the wise, the patriotic protests against the prejudices of old systems; the firm, unfaltering belief in the greatness of his native land, its progress, and final leadership in the mighty development going on among the nations of the earth; then of the suffering, the gradual weakening of the bodily strength, of the flashes of the old fire, fitful but deceptive, presaging the end, which came easily, peacefully, hushing forever the voice of the statesman and the citizen, who, born of the people and from the people, must live on and whose achievements must bear witness in the time to come, more eloquently than tongues can speak, of the fitness of men to govern themselves. No eulogy of mine can add glory to the luster of the name of WILLIAM D. KELLEY, the statesman, the friend we are now called upon to mourn.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I move, as a further mark of respect to my deceased colleague, the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

January 13, 1890.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. McPherson its Clerk, communicated the resolutions of the House of Representatives on the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolutions of the House of Representatives; which were read:

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved (in recognition of the long and distinguished term of service rendered in this body by Mr. KELLEY, a term the longest in its history, and which had made him for many years the "Father of the House"), That appropriate services be held in the Hall of the House to-morrow, the 11th instant, at 12 o'clock noon.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House, with such members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral at Philadelphia, Pa.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

In accordance with the foregoing, the Speaker announced the appointment of Mr. O'Neill, of Pennsylvania; Mr. McKinley, of Ohio; Mr. Cannon, of Illinois; Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts; Mr. McKenna, of California; Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Mr. Mills, of Texas; Mr. Holman, of Indiana, and Mr. Mutchler, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORRILL. In the absence of both Senators from Pennsylvania, who, I understand, are in attendance on the funeral of the illustrious deceased in Philadelphia, I have been asked to offer the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions which have been read.

The resolutions were agreed to unanimously; and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, January 14, 1890, at 12 o'clock meridian.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

May 10, 1890.

Mr. CAMERON. I wish to give notice that on Friday next, the 16th instant, at 4 o'clock, I shall call up the resolutions on the death of Judge WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of submitting remarks thereon.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

May 16, 1890.

Mr. CAMERON. Some days since I gave notice that I should call up the resolutions in reference to the death of Judge KELLEY to-day. Several Senators have requested that that matter be postponed; therefore I withdraw my previous notice and give notice now that I shall call up the resolutions on Tuesday next at 4 o'clock.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

May 20, 1890.

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 4 o'clock having arrived, the pending bill will be laid aside.

Mr. CAMERON. I ask for the reading of the resolutions from the House of Representatives in relation to the death of the late Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the business of the Senate be now suspended in order that fitting tribute may be paid to his memory.

Resolved, That as an additional mark of respect the Senate shall, at the conclusion of these ceremonies, adjourn.

ADDRESS OF MR. CAMERON, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: So much has appeared in the press of the country concerning Judge KELLEY that it is impossible on this occasion to do more in the remarks I am about to make than to repeat much that has already been said.

WILLIAM DARRAH KELLEY was born in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, April 12, 1814, and at 20 minutes past 6 o'clock, in this city, on Thursday, January 9, 1890, he quietly passed away, surrounded by his family and a few friends, having lived a useful life of seventy-six years.

The ancestry of Judge KELLEY were Irish. His father, David Kelley, located in Philadelphia at an early age and started in business as a watch-maker and jeweler. He married Miss Hannah Darrah, whose ancestors were early settlers on the Neshaminy Creek, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. After the war of 1812—in 1816—David Kelley, having indorsed the paper of one of his relatives, became pecuniarily involved, and was, in consequence thereof, sold out under the sheriff's hammer, and was thereby bereft of the small fortune he had accumulated. Shortly afterwards he fell dead on the street, leaving four small children to the care of his widow, of whom WILLIAM DARRAH was the youngest and only son, and but two years old. His mother having no means of her own to support her family, kind friends gave her some pecuniary assistance, with which she opened a boarding-house.

In this way the heroic and noble woman, by her skill, industry, and indomitable pluck, supported and schooled her children. William's school days, however, terminated at the age of eleven, for at this time the circumstances of his mother had become such as to compel him to leave school

to seek employment, so as to afford her whatever aid he could, no matter how small. He first obtained work in a lottery office as an errand boy, at a weekly salary of $1. Tiring of this, he secured a place in an umbrella-store, but being of an ambitious turn of mind, he sought and succeeded in getting employment as a copy-holder in the printing establishment of Jasper Harding, of the Philadelphia Inquirer, and it was while employed there, as he always asserted, that he acquired that remarkable clearness of articulation which was the charm of his oratory through life.

His last avocation becoming distasteful to him, he left that —being now sixteen years of age—and concluded to learn his father's trade, and was indentured as an apprentice to the firm of Rickards & Dubosq, manufacturing jewelers. He was engaged with them for six years. As he was approaching manhood he realized that his education was very limited, and he at once began to search for knowledge. He spent his leisure hours reading, and became a member of debating societies, where he made for himself considerable reputation as a debater. He associated himself with a number of young friends in founding the "Youth's Library," the name of which was afterwards changed to the "Pennsylvania Literary Institute," and in time they accumulated several thousand volumes and instituted an annual course of lectures.

Here his taste and study for knowledge was gratified beyond his expectations and the foundation was laid for that remarkable store of learning which made him so useful to his constituents in after life. His specialty in books was for those on political and economic questions, for which subjects he had a natural and instinctive gift.

During his apprenticeship the business of the country was very much depressed in consequence of the memorable quarrel between President Jackson and the United States

Bank, and in Philadelphia the employers and capitalists were almost unanimous for the bank. Young KELLEY took sides with the Democratic minority and soon became a noted leader among the apprentices and young Democrats.

Of course, as might have been expected, the result was that he, with many others who were too outspoken in their opinions, was thrown out of employment. It was a very distressing period in the history of our country. Party war raged fiercely and bitterly. Capitalists and employers declared publicly that as the President was making war upon them those whom they employed should take sides with them or be treated as enemies.

Said the New York Tribune:

> Democratic workmen were discharged on all sides. One instance is narrated where a tailoress was refused work because her brother had spoken at a Democratic meeting. Petitions for the "restoration of the deposits" were circulated, and workingmen refusing to sign are said to have been marked for discharge.

Young KELLEY entered the fight with a vigor that was characteristic of him, and so enthusiastic and active was he in his efforts that he dissuaded many workmen from attending meetings called in the interest of the bank.

No wonder, therefore, that he found it difficult to obtain employment at his trade. However, on the revival of business in 1835, young KELLEY went to Boston, where a former shop-mate had found work and opened a way for him. He secured a good place and he was more prosperous there than he had been in Philadelphia.

His specialty was enameling, and his success in it was so great that a costly set of gold cups, ordered for the Imaum of Muscat, brought his employers a gold medal from the Massachusetts Mechanics' Association.

It was not in his nature to remain long in seclusion or inactive, and an opportunity soon occurred that enabled his

restless spirit to assert itself. The anti-Catholic excitement was then at its height in eastern Massachusetts, and as a result of the agitation the burning of the convent at Charlestown. This was a chance for young KELLEY to display his ability, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. He attracted general attention by his fearless and eloquent utterances at public assemblies, in opposition to what seemed to him to be the prevailing prejudices. Possessed of a good voice, with perfect articulation and clear enunciation, he had no trouble in holding and interesting an audience, and he soon acquired considerable fame as a lecturer and debater.

At that time it was customary, as it is now, for both political parties to hold mass meetings just before the annual elections, and it was at one of these meetings in Faneuil Hall that KELLEY acquitted himself to such an extent that his reputation as a speaker was made. It is said of him that he was sitting in a corner of the stage, where, although not seen, every word of the speakers reached his ear. Harvey Prince, esq., of Salem, an eloquent lawyer, had just concluded his speech, when, by one of those sudden impulses which characterized him in after years, KELLEY rushed to the front of the stage just as the chairman of the meeting was about to introduce United States District Attorney Hallett. Every eye in the vast audience was riveted upon him, as but few knew who the intruder was. "Who is he?" and "Who are you?" was heard on every side, and a suppressed murmur pervaded the hall. KELLEY heard this, and straightening himself to his full height, he replied in a voice that could be heard by every one in the assemblage:

Who am I? I will tell you who I am directly. I am an American citizen, a man who can earn his living by the sweat of his brow and the cunning of his good right hand—one who has come to this cradled temple of liberty to pledge himself to stem the tide of time on board the good ship Democracy, with her to swim or with her gloriously to sink.

After such an introduction it was not surprising that this young mechanic should have been frequently sought to speak in public for the purpose of firing enthusiasm into the hearts of sluggish and doubtful voters. On several occasions he spoke upon the same platform with many distinguished speakers of the State.

Soon after the Faneuil Hall episode Mr. KELLEY was tendered a place in the Boston post-office or in the customs service, but he declined on the ground that he "did not wish to give up his independence and individuality and become a waiter on the tide of affairs."

Such was his promise that he was advised by some of his admirers to seek a scholarship at Harvard, but he refused to accede to their kindly advice.

After remaining in Boston four years he longed for and did return to his old home and its associations in Philadelphia, where he entered upon the study of the law in the office of Col. James Page, then a leading lawyer of that city, who was so pleased with the address that KELLEY made at Faneuil Hall that he persuaded him to study law under his supervision. He began his studies on March 9, 1839, and on April 17, 1841—being then twenty-seven years old—he was, on the motion of his friend, Colonel Page, admitted to the Philadelphia bar. Before going to Boston he had been a member of a volunteer fire company—in those days they were very numerous and political in their character—and also of a volunteer military company, and his former associates were, naturally enough, very proud of his elevation. Colonel Page was his military commander.

Success attended him at the bar from the start, and he at once entered upon a large and lucrative practice.

Prior to his admission to the bar he had taken part in local politics, and in 1842, when he was active in trying to allay

the excitement following the suspension of specie payments, he had become so well known and so popular that one of the papers called him "the tribune of the people." In the campaign of 1844, which made Francis R. Shunk governor of Pennsylvania and Polk President, Mr. KELLEY took a prominent part, in his own State first, and later in New Jersey and Delaware. Governor Shunk's attorney-general, John K. Kane, promptly appointed him prosecuting attorney for the county of Philadelphia, which place he held for two terms by re-appointment. He thus became the prosecutor of all persons arraigned for participation in the memorable riots of 1844, a duty which he discharged with distinguished ability and force. One of Governor Shunk's last acts was to make him one of the judges of the court of common pleas of Philadelphia, which he did on the 13th of March, 1847.

In this position he was put to a severe test in the well-known contested-election case of District Attorney Reed *vs.* Kneass. He united in a decision by which a Democrat who had secured a fraudulent return of votes was removed from the district attorneyship and his Whig opponent seated. Judge KELLEY was known to be largely responsible for this act, and he was consequently ostracized by those with whom he had formerly sympathized. The judicial office in Pennsylvania having been made elective by the constitutional amendments adopted in 1850, the Democratic convention in 1851 refused to renominate him because of his prominence in securing the removal of their candidate for district attorney.

He was then taken up and elected for a ten-years' term by the "People's party," which comprised some of the best elements of the Whig and Democratic parties. He severed his connection with the Democratic party when the Missouri compromise was repealed in 1854, and on the re-opening of the slavery controversy in that year he became earnest and out-

spoken in his opposition to slavery. In fact, he had always been an anti-slavery man. How he became converted to the doctrine of protection is graphically told in his "Reasons for Abandoning the Theory of Free Trade and Adopting the Principles of Protection to American Industries."

His entry into the political arena dates from this time. He at once gave his strongest efforts and influence in organizing the Republican party, and in 1856 he entered his new field by a public address in Philadelphia on "Slavery in the Territories," which became widely known and gave him quite a reputation beyond the limits of his own State. In this year he was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress by the new party—he having resigned from the bench—and vigorously entered the campaign for the new party and its Presidential candidates, Fremont and Dayton, and after a severe fight he was defeated, and again returned to the practice of his profession.

In 1860 he was sent as a delegate to the National Convention at Chicago that nominated Abraham Lincoln, and was selected by the Pennsylvania delegation to represent that State on the committee to notify Mr. Lincoln personally of his nomination to the Presidency. On his return from Chicago he was—in the autumn—nominated a second time for Congress and elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress to represent the Fourth Congressional district in Philadelphia.

He was sworn in at the special session which convened in July, 1861, and held his seat by fourteen successive re-elections, and was entering his fifteenth term—or a service of nearly thirty years in the House of Representatives—a distinction enjoyed and a record equaled by no other man of the thousands who have served in the House of Representatives from the foundation of the Government.

It is hardly credible, yet nevertheless true, that in all of

his successive elections he was only on two occasions required to struggle for his election. His first election in 1860 was warmly contested, and in 1862 he defeated James B. Nicholson by only 828 majority. Since that time he has always been elected by from 2,500 to 12,000 majority.

It is a historical fact that Philadelphia has furnished the three oldest Congressmen in point of continuous service: WILLIAM D. KELLEY, thirty years; Samuel J. Randall, twenty-nine years; and Charles O'Neill, twenty-five years.

On account of his long and continuous service in the House Judge KELLEY acquired the sobriquet of the "Father of the House," but although the oldest man in service, he was not the oldest member in that body in point of age. Up to the time of his death Judge KELLEY had administered the oath of office to five different Speakers of the House, and for some years past, on account of his long and faithful service, he was at the beginning of each Congress allowed to select his seat instead of drawing for it, an honor very rarely conferred.

The life of Judge KELLEY is a fair illustration of what can be accomplished under our free institutions. Commencing his career in an humble occupation, without the advantages of the common school now afforded the very poorest boy, by his indomitable pluck and untiring energy he became the peer of any man who ever sat in that body of which he was a member.

Judge KELLEY was from the first a warm and enthusiastic supporter of President Lincoln in the prosecution of the war. He was on very intimate terms with both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton, and no man in political life at that period more absolutely enjoyed their confidence and friendship. He was frequently consulted by them on important contemplated movements, and his advice and counsel had much

weight. He stood side by side with the most able and enthusiastic defenders of the Union cause; he zealously advocated the most vigorous conduct of the war, no matter at what cost; he favored speedy emancipation of the slaves and the bestowal of the right of suffrage on the newly-made citizen, and as early as 1862 he was a strong advocate for arming the negro; and he took an advanced position on the question of the reconstruction of the Southern States. His acquaintance with the principal leaders in suppressing the rebellion gave him an opportunity of learning many important facts which were of great assistance to him when he replied with great effect to General McClellan's article in the Century and also in defending Secretary Stanton against the attacks which were made upon him in the House of Representatives.

Judge KELLEY has always been a thorough student of national finances, the relations of capital to labor, and all kindred economic subjects. He was a hard and incessant worker. When in pursuit of certain knowledge and facts he was untiring and unceasing until success crowned his efforts. He possessed a perfect store-house of dates and figures. He not only studied these questions in books, but the great fund of his knowledge was obtained by constant contact with the business men and manufacturers of the country by visiting industrial establishments of every kind and description, by personal interviews with the operatives, mechanics, and miners, not only in this country but in England, France, and Germany. He was therefore thoroughly informed. For this reason, there was no man in either House of Congress who was better equipped for discussion or a more ready debater on tariff questions of this and other countries.

Having a remarkably fine voice, famous for its clearness, he always commanded attention and respect when he spoke,

which was only when the subjects with which he was most familiar were up for discussion, and then he spoke with great effect and earnestness and full of enthusiasm.

Judge KELLEY was an indefatigable and industrious writer. Besides the numerous speeches which he delivered both in and out of Congress he published many pamphlets, such as Colored Department of the House of Refuge, Reasons for Abandoning Free Trade, Letters from Europe, and one of his productions was The New South, which attracted much attention throughout the country.

His history while in Congress is familiar to all. He did faithful work on many committees to which he was assigned, such as the Committees on Agriculture, Naval Affairs, and Indian Affairs. He was, in the Fortieth Congress, chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and also chairman of the Philadelphia Centennial Celebration Committee in 1876. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1869; in 1873 he had risen to the second place on that committee, and when Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, was elected to the Senate in 1875 he became the senior Republican member. In 1879, when the House of Representatives was under Democratic rule, Mr. Garfield was placed ahead of him on the committee, but when the Republicans again got control of that body in December, 1881, he was made chairman of that committee, and thereby the leader of the House, and served as such until March, 1883, when the political complexion of the House of Representatives again changed.

He, however, continued a member of this committee until last December, when on account of his enfeebled health he requested to be assigned to a committee which would not require so much labor, and he was therefore made chairman of the Committee on Manufactures. This short his-

tory of his services in the House shows the secret of his success. He zealously labored in behalf of a constituency whom he loved so well and who in return showed their high appreciation of him.

To illustrate, what a wonderful hold he had upon his constituents in his district is shown in the answer of a prominent citizen of Philadelphia to a delegation who asked his assistance to place another man in nomination instead of Judge KELLEY. "What!" exclaimed the gentleman, "send another man to Congress from the Fourth district while Judge KELLEY lives! That would be an act of base ingratitude which would justly receive the execrations of the Republican masses of the country, and would be a blow at the cause of protection more damning in its effect than could be delivered by the combined free-traders on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. No, gentlemen, while Judge KELLEY lives no other man can be chosen to represent his district in Congress."

The board of directors of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, composed of some of the most prominent and influential men in our State, held a special meeting January 11, 1890, two days after Judge KELLEY's death, and the following was their action. It shows the high esteem in which he was held by them:

The death of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY on the 9th of January, 1890, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having closed a public career of unusual length and of remarkable distinction, the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, while deeply regretting the loss thus sustained by Judge KELLEY'S family, by the nation, by the city of Philadelphia, and by his immediate constituents, desires to express, in the following minute, its sense of the greatness of the career thus ended, of the lofty character of the man as a patriot and a statesman, and of the value of his services to his native land.

It was the fortune of Judge KELLEY to sit in the national House of Representatives as the Representative of the Fourth Pennsylvania district for nearly thirty successive years—a continuous length of service in that

body that has rarely been equaled and not more than once or twice surpassed. This unusual honor came to Judge KELLEY as the acknowledgment and reward of his strict fidelity to and his wise and valiant maintenance of principles that seemed to have justice for their basis and the material prosperity of the people for their practical purpose.

The years of Judge KELLEY'S public life included the most momentous period in the history of this country, and the part that he played in the great events of the time was large and conspicuous. The most unfriendly scrutiny of his conduct will find little that deserves the condemnation of the prudent, and nothing that can cast reflection upon the purity of his motives. Upon the other hand, it will be hardly possible to discover in the records of the legislation of thirty years any measure that has produced beneficial results for any nation which does not bear the impress of his sagacity and foresight, or was not the recipient of his hearty approval and support.

In the dark hours of the civil war the great President whom he helped to nominate and to elect found in him an eager coadjutor in every movement for the courageous conduct of the struggle for national existence and in every scheme for uplifting the credit of the nation and for strengthening the forces for the maintenance of the Union.

In the troubled years that followed the final victory he relaxed none of the intensity of his patriotic devotion in giving his sanction to all wise and safe action for the political and industrial rehabilitation of the Southern States. He was one of the first to perceive the industrial possibilities of the South, and to the latest year of his life he regarded the swift development of Southern industry with the eager enthusiasm of a patriot who saw in it a promise of a peaceful and happy re-adjustment of the relations of that section to the rest of the country.

Representing, as the Manufacturers' Club does, American industry generally and the manufacturing industries of Pennsylvania particularly, we record with gratitude and pleasure our sense of the obligation of American industry to Judge KELLEY'S persistent, able, and eloquent advocacy of the principles of tariff protection. To no one public man, with the possible exception of Henry Clay, do the toilers of the country owe so much; and we rejoice, as he rejoiced, that his life was extended so far into the century as to permit him to witness the triumph of those principles in the development of home industry under their shelter to proportions of magnificent and unsurpassed greatness. He lived to observe the reaping of the fruits of his early labors and the rich fulfillment of his prophecies. The full justification of his constant efforts came before he died, in the near approach of his people to industrial independence, in large earnings for the workmen, in lower prices of commodities, and in the advancement of his country to a condition of prosperity without precedent in history.

His public life was characterized by complete devotion to duty, and both his public and his private life by perfect purity. No breath of sus-

picion ever assailed his integrity. The familiar defilements of politics left no stain upon him. His successes at the polls were not won by art or by skillful manipulation of machinery. He owed no allegiance to any master, and no clique looked to him to do its bidding. His constituents returned him to Congress without any other incentive than a full appreciation of his high qualities and a complete sense of the value to them and to the nation of his services. His claim to such honor was that he was a statesman in breadth of mind and in practical equipment for performance of the functions of statecraft. To his natural mental power he added learning, to his learning unusual eloquence, and to all his faculties a deep, intense, overmastering love for his country and its political institutions.

No better tribute could be paid to the memory of Judge KELLEY than that in the act of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress when they passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the State of Pennsylvania has lost, by the death of our distinguished colleague, Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, a Representative in the full sense of that term. An actual service of over twenty-nine years, unbroken in continuity, with unremitting faithfulness to every duty, has made the name of our deceased colleague known from one end of the land to the other; and we feel that the citizens of the United States are sorrowing with us on this sad occasion.

Resolved, That, in testimony of our esteem to the memory of the "Father of the House," the members of the Pennsylvania delegation attend the funeral services in a body.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

Judge KELLEY was a man of dignity and refinement and possessed of a simple and amiable yet strong and forcible character, which won him the love as well as the respect of all who were associated with him. He was neither afraid nor ashamed to assert his convictions with a boldness that not only startled but made his opponents respect him.

ADDRESS OF MR. MORRILL OF VERMONT.

Mr. PRESIDENT: My acquaintance with Mr. KELLEY began upon his entrance as a member of the House of Representatives in 1861, where I served with him until 1867; and our friendly personal relations were ever after unbroken. I remember that he at once took rank as a ready and expert debater, showing deep interest in the subject of the tariff, often exhibiting special knowledge of details, and having a voice of dramatic power he was not only heard but understood in a House where many found it difficult even to be heard. He was a model of industry, shunning no labor that was required to obtain the mastery of the subject, and he also recognized the duty of being an unfailing attendant upon the daily sessions of the House.

Mr. KELLEY was not unfamiliar with the British free-trade theories of Adam Smith and of his successors, and above all he was familiar with the works on political economy of Henry C. Carey, early becoming perhaps one of his most distinguished disciples, and, it is hardly necessary to say, a learned and robust supporter of the principle of American protection. In the application of this principle he was thoroughly impartial, not limited to the local boundaries of his district, but, believing that it covered his country with blessings to multiply industries and broaden home markets, he seemed as ready to have these blessings conferred upon the people of the most distant States as upon his own neighbors. He was alert to see that no public interest should anywhere be slighted or ignored, whether represented by political friends or opponents. He would ask nothing for Pennsylvania that he would not grant to Florida, or to Alabama, or to any other State.

He was as courteous in debate as a gentleman of the olden time, and therefore made no personal enemies. As a representative of the Quaker City he was sternly opposed to slavery; but, while he hated the sin, he did not so much hate the sinners, believing that they inherited rather than originated this blot upon free institutions.

Proud of his own early experience as an artisan, he favored all measures tending to promote the welfare of workingmen. He was their friend. He cheerfully accepted the sportive nickname of "Pig-iron Kelley," bestowed upon him by those unable otherwise to meet his arguments, and he used the epithet as a club furnished by his foes to win for himself greater renown.

Mr. KELLEY was one of many typical examples of American life. Starting, with a good English education, as an apprentice in the trade of a jeweler, and working as a journeyman for five years, then studying the profession of law, he was soon advanced to the position of a judge in one of the courts of Philadelphia, his native city, and at length, in our country's great crisis of 1860, he was chosen as a member of the House of Representatives, at the ripe age of forty-seven years, by a district whose confidence and affection he successfully retained through life. After a continuous and conspicuous service of twenty-nine years, honorable alike to himself and his constituency, and after a long and useful life, undimmed by spot or blemish, his career has ended; but a national reputation will long cling to the name of WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

ADDRESS OF MR. REAGAN, OF TEXAS.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY served the people of Pennsylvania acceptably and continuously in the House of Representatives for about twenty-nine years.

He enjoyed the distinction of being the senior member of the House for many years, and was spoken of as the "Father of the House."

I do not propose to deliver a eulogium on the life and services of this distinguished man. That task has been better performed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cameron]. I shall only occupy a few moments to express the respect and esteem I entertained for Mr. KELLEY while living and my respect for his memory now that he has gone from among us.

The first four years I served in the House ended with the Thirty-sixth Congress. Mr. KELLEY's service in the House commenced with the Thirty-seventh Congress. When I returned to the House in the Forty-fourth Congress I found Mr. KELLEY its senior member by continuous service. We were then associated as members of the House for twelve years. While in politics and on some leading questions we did not agree in opinion, our intercourse was always friendly.

Mr. KELLEY, by his courteous bearing and by the frankness, earnestness, and sincerity of his conduct, commanded the respect of his associates.

His life was a splendid illustration of a type of American character which is one of the chief glories of the Republic. Commencing life in poverty and obscurity he learned to be a printer, and afterwards served an apprenticeship to the

jeweler's trade and worked at it as a journeyman. By the aid of a superior intellect and by energy and perseverance he afterwards became a lawyer, then prosecuting attorney for the city and county of Philadelphia, and still later he was for ten years judge of the court of common pleas of Philadelphia. To these honors was added his long and useful career in Congress.

Such a life and such achievements under such circumstances are a noble example and a great encouragement to the youth of our country, and especially to those who have to fight life's battles unaided by fortune or family influence. Mr. KELLEY'S public experience covered a very interesting and exciting period of American history, during which he took his part in the disposition of great public questions in such a manner as to command the approval of his constituents.

Mr. President, while commemorating the services and the virtues of our deceased friend sad memories are called into review. A number of the most distinguished members of the Fifty-first Congress have passed from life into the shoreless sea of eternity. The bright, the brilliant and learned, and noble-hearted Samuel S. Cox was the first to leave us. Then our able and patriotic friend, WILLIAM D. KELLEY, whose services and worth we now commemorate.

Soon after he was followed by his distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, Samuel J. Randall, a man of great ability and great labor, of the broadest patriotism, a born leader of men, who during his long service in Congress preserved an unsullied reputation. And still another, an honored son of New York, David Wilber, who had been elected to the Fifty-first Congress, died without having been able to take his seat as a Representative. And we are painfully reminded that a member of this Senate, so recently with us, Hon.

James B. Beck, of Kentucky, whom we all loved and honored for his noble qualities of head and heart, is no more.

It is not permitted to us to know how soon others of us are to be separated from all that is dear to us on earth and to follow our friends to the unknown hereafter.

Mr. President, we go on in the performance of our duties, studying until the brain is sometimes dizzy, working until the body is often worn and exhausted, and looking to the future as if time belonged to us, and as if eternity were never to be reached. And amidst the busy scenes of life we may fancy ourselves more or less important factors in our country's welfare if not in the world's progress.

We seldom pause to think how unimportant we really are, and how little the world, even our own country, will miss us when we are gone. However much importance we may attach to ourselves and to the parts we play in life, when we have joined our friends on the other shore the world will move on, and our own country will continue its march to the great destiny which awaits it, the same as if we had never lived, and we shall soon be remembered no more.

This is not a cheerful reflection, except for the promise beyond the grave for those who have done well in this life. But if such reflections shall teach us greater humility, cause us to be more just, make us more charitable to one another, and lead to a broader philanthropy, they are not without their uses.

ADDRESS OF MR. SHERMAN, OF OHIO.

Mr. PRESIDENT: WILLIAM D. KELLEY entered the House of Representatives in 1861, as I left it for the Senate. Therefore I had not the same opportunity for acquaintance with him as if we had served together in the same House and on committees, where intimate personal friendships are often formed for life. Still, frequent association and meetings with Mr. KELLEY, socially and in the consideration of bills of a financial character, since he became a member, led to a friendship which was unbroken, and which, now that he is dead, imposes upon me the duty of responding to the resolutions before you.

When Mr. KELLEY entered the House of Representatives as a member from the city of Philadelphia he had arrived at the mature age of forty-six, and had an established reputation for ability, industry, and fidelity to duty. He had been trained in the school of poverty, making his own way in the world, gathering knowledge by the wayside. He labored for several years at his trade as a mechanic; but, prompted by a restless thirst for knowledge, he studied law, and for several years he practiced the legal profession. In due time he became a judge and served as such for ten years, so that when he entered public life as a member of the House he was a trained lawyer, with strong convictions upon economic questions, and bold and earnest on all the stern issues of the civil war.

The creed to which he devoted himself consisted of but three articles: That the Union must be preserved at all hazards; that the National Government should exercise its exclusive power to provide money for the people of the United States; and that the laborer of our country should be

protected in his industry from undue competition. To the establishment of each of these theories as the public policy of the country he contributed his full measure of effort and success. By instinct he was opposed to slavery. All his early struggles and his innate perceptions of the rights of man made him an enemy to all forms of oppression. Still, he would have respected the right of each State to deal with this question, but when it became manifest that slavery was the real cause of the attempt at secession he was among the first and foremost to demand that it should be abolished. But especially as the recognized leader in the support of protection to American industry he exercised commanding influence and authority.

Whatever opinions may be honestly entertained as to the nature and extent of this protection, Judge KELLEY had no doubt, but impartially and freely extended it to every industry without regard to its nature or the section in which it was pursued. On all economic questions he had accurate knowledge of details. His patient industry enabled him to master every shade and side of such a question, and especially so as to the policy of protection by discriminating duties. On other matters he was a follower, but in this always a leader. His writings and speeches upon this and kindred questions constitute a store-house of information and the best evidence of his industry and ability.

From the time he entered public life until the hour of his death he commanded the full confidence of his people. No fluctuation of opinion, no personal rivalries, no contests for patronage or office could weaken their confidence in his integrity and justice. All these obstructions in the paths of public men, often fatal, did not affect him. For thirty years he was the chosen Representative of one constituency, a remarkable, and in our country an unexampled, event.

In the House of Representatives, famous for its sudden changes, he was for many years "the Father of the House," and no doubt, if his life had been prolonged to the extreme period allotted to man, his seat in the House would have been safe for him.

No one could have so secured such an honor from such a constituency without possessing marked ability, superior intelligence, and an unblemished character. The history of political life is full of fading shadows crowding each other, tired and tossed as upon a stormy sea, coming and going without mark or memory; but when a man appears, like Judge KELLEY, thoroughly equipped for public duty, courting no man and fearing none, supported as he was without wavering or a break by a constituency who knew every act of his life, until he had outlived nearly all his contemporaries and had reached the venerable age of seventy-six years, such an example gives assurance that there are conservative forces in a government by the people, and that faithful services honestly rendered will meet with the highest reward. The life of our Republic is but short as measured by the life of European nations, but it has been long enough to disprove the common theory that to secure stability and strength in a government it must be controlled by the privileged and educated classes.

In every period of our history it has been shown that from the ranks of the people, without special training and often in the face of the most adverse difficulties, have come the men who have led in Congress, in the judiciary, in the Army and Navy, and in the highest fields of invention, literature, and science. Judge KELLEY is only one of many of these. Death has taken from among us within a brief time many of the most illustrious actors in the great events that have marked the period of our lives, and almost without

exception they have been typical American citizens, who commenced without advantage, were baptized in poverty, and made their way by personal ability and proven fitness for the duties assigned them.

The living principle of our Government, that every man shall have equal opportunity without favor or prejudice to win his way and enjoy his honest gains and honors, has been shown to be the true policy by the production of men of superior ability for every task and every duty. It is the chief cause of the wonderful development of our resources, and is the conservative and enduring force that we believe will, under Divine Providence, strengthen our institutions and enable us to resist alike the corruption of wealth and the ravings of ignorance. The mass of the people, under the influence of free institutions, will, by their unbiased choice, furnish leaders and representatives to keep the ship of state free from these dangers.

Death may take from us such men as KELLEY and Randall, but the principles and training that brought them into public life and kept them there to the hour of their death will supply their places until in the time, far distant as I hope, when our Republic, like all forms of government, will perish from corruption and ignorance. The impressive lessons taught us by these frequent ceremonies need not disturb our hope for the future of our country, but they should impress upon us the uncertain tenure by which we hold our representative trusts, and our sacred duty to perform them so that, when we taste the bitterness of death, our survivors may say of us, as we say of them, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

ADDRESS OF MR. HAMPTON, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Few men in the United States during the half century which has just closed occupied a more conspicuous position in his party than did the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania to whose memory all of us this day, putting aside the strife of party conflicts, pause from our daily routine of duty to pay kind and respectful homage. We do this, not on account of his long public service, but because he was a brave, conscientious man, upon whose character no stain of dishonesty ever rested, a good type of those men who have made the name of American citizen as proud, as powerful, and as honorable as that of Roman. The boast of the Roman was predicated on the fact that the seven-hilled city dominated the world by arms; the nobler boast of the American is that his country is showing how the world can be governed by ideas, and all Christendom now recognizes that the weapons we use are more potent than those with which Rome conquered the world.

It was in this intellectual field of conflict that Judge KELLEY won his proudest triumphs; for while his patriotic ardor impelled him to brave the perils and the hardships of war, it is his greatest distinction that he was in the halls of Congress a potent factor in shaping the policy of the party to which he belonged; a policy which, whether right or wrong, was brought to a successful issue, and to the success of which he contributed in no small measure. It is scarcely necessary for me to say, Mr. President, that the policy he advocated with such zeal and ability was utterly repugnant to the political creed held by myself, but in the advocacy of

his measures he manifested such implicit faith, such honest, brave consistency, that, while I never agreed with him, my respect for the man was sincerely entertained.

Nor can I forget that when time had softened the asperities engendered by our civil war he manifested an earnest interest in the welfare and prosperity of the South, and expressed the kindest wishes for its people. All his utterances of late in reference to our people were marked by broad charity and sincere good-will, and he thus evoked from many who were his political opponents feelings of a kindred character. We of the South recall with kind emotions one of his latest expressions in reference to that portion of the country when he said: "The South is the coming El Dorado of American adventure. May the Almighty speed and guide her onward progress!" It is therefore not only natural but proper that Representatives of the South should join their Northern colleagues in doing honor to his memory. He was emphatically a tribune of the people; no adventitious circumstances of birth, of wealth, or of influence were his to speed him on in the race of life. Errand-boy, apprentice, artisan, he, without the advantage of an early education, not only filled high positions with honor and distinction, but he rose by the force of his character and power of his intellect to a commanding place in the councils of the country.

An intelligent and confiding constituency returned him as their Representative in the other branch of Congress for fifteen consecutive terms, a distinction conferred on no other member since the organization of the Government; and, however men may differ with his political views, they must admit that a man who could thus command the unbounded confidence, the unanimous support, the life-long respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens must have been a man of mark. The fact that he held his seat in the House

of Representatives so long and so uninterruptedly was honorable alike to himself and to his constituents, for it proves that he was worthy of their confidence, and that they recognized his ability, his worth, and his services. No man with such a record as he made for himself can fall out of the ranks of the living without leaving a wide gap and one difficult to fill. That great State which is still in mourning for Judge KELLEY has again recently had the heavy hand of affliction laid on her, for she deplores the loss of his illustrious colleague, that great commoner whose fame was as broad as our land and whose death is felt as a national calamity.

There was a striking similarity in the public career of these two distinguished sons of Pennsylvania—WILLIAM D. KELLEY and Samuel J. Randall—and by a strange coincidence their long, arduous, and devoted services to their State were ended by death at nearly the same time. Differing widely as they did in politics, often brought into sharp political antagonism, there were many points of character in which they resembled each other. Both were brave, positive, aggressive, and conscientious men, and each could justly be called "an honest man, the noblest work of God;" and while each battled with earnest zeal and unfaltering courage for the triumph of his principles and his party—

> Theirs was no common party race,
> Jostling by dark intrigue for place.

In contemplating the careers of these two great actors on the public stage, similar as they were in so many particulars and yet so divergent in others, we are reminded of England's immortal rivals, Pitt and Fox; and the touching tribute paid to their memory, when they were laid at rest in

Westminster Abbey, by Scotland's border minstrel might appropriately be applied to the dead sons of Pennsylvania:

> Genius and taste and talent gone,
> Forever tombed beneath the stone,
> Where—taming thought to human pride—
> The mighty chiefs sleep side by side. * * *
> The solemn echo seems to cry
> Here let their discord with them die.
> Speak not for those a separate doom
> Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb.

ADDRESS OF MR. HAWLEY, OF CONNECTICUT.

Mr. PRESIDENT: There are vast opportunities among a great people numbering 60,000,000, where every man has the opportunity to become all that Heaven gives him power to be. Whether or not a republic shall develop greater men than are to be found elsewhere I do not know, but it is certain, I think, to develop a greater number of men of useful type. In conversational debates, newspaper readings, political meetings and conventions, in the absolute freedom of association, so that nearly every adult has been a chairman, or secretary, or a committeeman, over and over again, all knowledge of affairs and qualities of leadership are cultivated. In the city governments and legislatures and congresses are needed men qualified to speak and to hold delegated power.

When masses of men find themselves with opinions and purposes that they think exceedingly important, they must find a representative man, and our institutions develop him. He is sent to a Legislature or Congress, and there he "represents" with vigor and sincerity. The people speak through him; he confers with them constantly and he seeks

to please them. A captious and pessimistic critic may say the man is a demagogue, but the people know him better. He is there because they send him, and they send him because he is evidently the warmest and strongest man among them. He is of and for the people. The demagogue may sometimes circumvent him, but he has a vast advantage in the evident earnestness, sincerity, and absolute honesty of his character. He touches elbows with all ranks and classes.

Such a man was Judge KELLEY, of the great class of commoners of whom Lincoln was the type and chief. Judge KELLEY'S hold on his constituents could not be shaken. It never could have been purchased. Such characters are born, not made. Some doubters of human nature think it evidence against a man that all the people appear to like him. Yet it is said of the Divine Man, and it is one of the most precious lines of the Holy Scriptures, that "the common people heard him gladly."

Let us take comfort in thinking that these things give us more respect and hope for our fellow-men. The generation that grappled Judge KELLEY to themselves with hooks of steel, and would have re-elected him for a hundred years, can not be a very bad people. The country is richer and stronger that such men have lived. His countrymen are not unduly mourning that at the age of seventy-six he has closed his long and noble record. They are taking courage and thinking better of human nature and of the institutions that can produce a man so typical of what American statesmen ought to be.

ADDRESS OF MR. DANIEL, OF VIRGINIA.

MR. PRESIDENT: WILLIAM DARRAH KELLEY, a Representative from Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States, was born in Philadelphia on the 12th day of April, 1814, and died in Washington City on the 9th of January, 1890, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was a self-made man, who rose to eminence by dint of strong natural capacities, resolute energies, concentrated purpose, and the high endeavor to be useful to his constituents, his country, and his fellow-men.

American in birth, tastes, intuitions, and aspirations, he illustrated in his history the beneficence of free institutions, and in his character some of the best traits typical of his countrymen. His early boyhood was a scuffle for livelihood. His youthful manhood was a struggle for education and recognition. His maturer years were conflicts for the honors of his profession. From the meridian of life to its close he was in the thick strifes of public business.

The sunset of life found him with—

> That which should accompany old age:
> Love, obedience, troops of friends.

Full of years and wearing honors fairly won, he has at last suffered the common lot; and we pause in the midst of public cares to tender our sympathies to his bereaved family, to pay our respect to his memory, and to lift the example of his usefulness above his new-made grave.

To those who were familiar with him in the social walks of life and between whom and himself existed the endearments of private friendship I leave the task—to them now sad indeed yet graceful and most fitting—of portraying those